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ABSTRACT

The foundations of the educational sporting heritage are examined in this collection of articles. The book is divided into two topical sections--Interscholastic Sport and Intercollegiate Sport. Both units are introduced by a study of a significant individual who was either a leader in or a reflector of sport in education, and are followed by papers which expand on historical foundations of specific aspects of educational sports. (JD)

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# SPORT

## IN AMERICAN EDUCATION: HISTORY & PERSPECTIVE

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# SPORT

## IN AMERICAN EDUCATION: HISTORY & PERSPECTIVE

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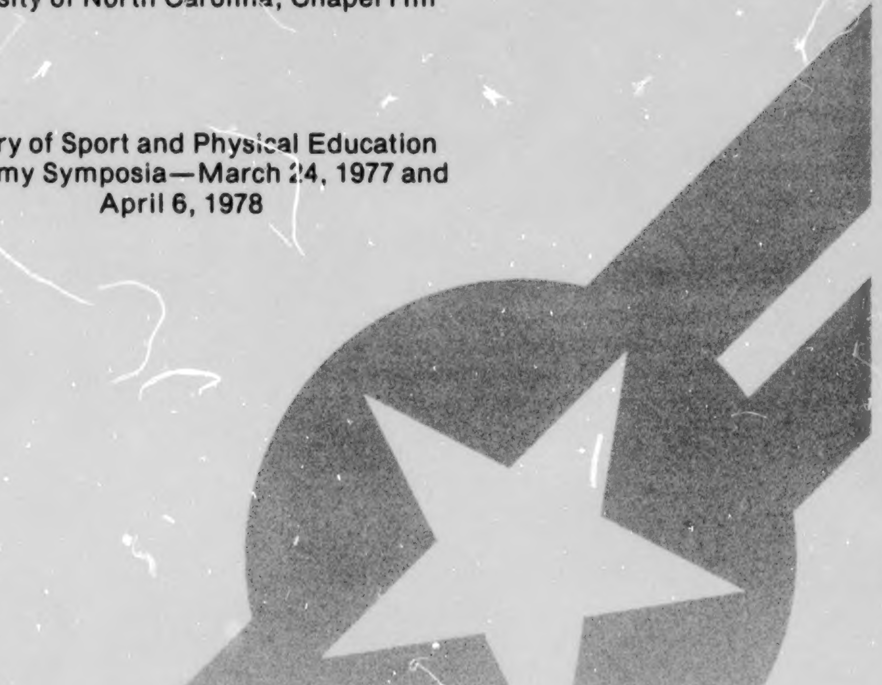
History of Sport and Physical Education
Academy Symposia—March 24, 1977 and
April 6, 1978



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# FOREWORD

Sport in American education has developed during a period of turmoil with change occurring at a rapid pace. Such change has created a pressing need to examine the foundations of the educational sporting heritage. To meet this exigency, the History Academy of the National Association for Sport and Physical Education sponsored two symposia on March 24, 1977, and April 6, 1978. From these symposia selected papers were compiled to serve as timely resources for all professionals. These papers reflect the research and scholarship of their authors.

The book is divided into two topical sections--Interscholastic Sport and Intercollegiate Sport. Both units are introduced by a study of a significant individual who was either a leader in or a reflector of sport in education and are followed by papers which expand on historical foundations of specific aspects of educational sports. It was not the purpose of the symposia to frame a complete history of each topical area; rather, the papers were developed independently of each other to analyze significant sport occurrences.

The symposia were sponsored and the papers were presented within the framework of Cicero's admonition:

> Not to know what has been transacted in former times is to be
> always a child.
> If no use is made of the labors of the past ages, the world
> must remain always in the infancy of knowledge.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# INTERSCHOLASTIC SPORT

# THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ATHLETIC LEAGUE OF NEW YORK CITY: ORGANIZED ATHLETICS FOR CITY SCHOOLCHILDREN, 1903-1914*

J. Thomas Jable
William Paterson College
Wayne, New Jersey

> I counted the other day the little ones, up to ten years or so, in a Bayard Street tenement [which] for a yard has a triangular space in the center with sides fourteen or fifteen feet long, just enough room for a row of ill-smelling closets at the base of the triangle and a hydrant at the apex. There was about as much light in this yard as in the average cellar. I gave up my self-imposed task in despair when I counted one hundred and twenty-eight [children] in forty families. (1)
>
> Given idleness and the street, and he [New York City's youth] will grow without other encouragement than an occasional "fanning" of a policeman's club. And the street has to do for a playground. There is not other.... Year by year the boys grow bolder in their raids on property.... Stoops, wagons, and in one place a show-case, containing property worth many hundreds of dollars, were fed to the flames. It has happened that an entire frame house has been carried off piecemeal, and burned up.... The germ of the *gangs* that terrorize whole sections of the city at intervals, and feed our courts and jails...may without much difficulty be discovered in these early and rather grotesque struggles of the boys with the police. (2) [emphasis supplied]

Jacob Riis, social critic and reformer, used the above passages to describe the plight of New York City's youth during the Progessive era. (3) Amid this unhealthy atmosphere in America's largest, and perhaps greatest, city emerged the Public Schools Athletic League. Its emergence was triggered by two main forces. One was the horrid living conditions created by the rapid and amorphous growth of the industrial city which packed millions of people into squalid and dreadful tenement buildings, so well publicized by Jacob Riis and other heralds of reform. The other was the new "scientific" developments occurring within the field of education.

Two avant-garde educators, William James and G. Stanley Hall, adopting principles of the "new psychology," advocated a revised curriculum with the child as its focus. In the child-centered curriculum, play, they contended, is a great facilitator of learning. Their ideas came to fruition in the Progressive education movement when John Dewey molded them with his own philosophy and applied them in educational settings. It was but a logical step for progressive physical educators to apply the principles of the "new psychology" to their discipline. When Thomas Wood, Clark Hetherington and Luther Halsey Gulick, the leading physical educators at the turn of the century, called for the replacement of formal gymnastics and calisthenics in the curriculum with play, sports and games, they ushered in the "new physical education." (4)

---

*The writer expresses gratitude to John C. Glading, assistant director of the Center for Health and Physical Education in charge of the Public Schools Athletic League of New York City, and to James MacKay, coordinator of the Center for Health and Physical Education, New York City Public Schools, for their assistance and cooperation in providing most of the materials for this paper.

Taking their cues from these progressive educators and social critics, New York teachers and enlightened civic leaders pooled their efforts and resources to organize and conduct athletics on a grand scale under the aegis of the Public Schools Athletic League. Through athletics, these concerned educators and citizens hoped to provide enjoyable experiences for schoolchildren and at the same time keep them out of trouble.

The purpose of this study is to examine the origin, growth, influence and contributions of the Public Schools Athletic League of New York City (PSAL) from its inception in 1903 until 1914 when it became an official branch of the Board of Education. More specifically, this study will explore the motives and rationale of its founders, particularly those of Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, the physical educator most involved in its formation.

## Luther Halsey Gulick's Philosophy of Education and Athletics

Early in 1903 the New York City Public Schools appointed Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick as the director of physical training. (5) His philosophy of education and athletics contributed greatly to the formation of the PSAL, and his efforts, combined with those of other educators and prominent citizens, made it a reality in a city trying to cope with the numerous problems of the industrial age. Gulick was the catalyst whose actions fused the various popular ideas on school athletics, transforming them from utopian conversation pieces to authentic athletic experiences for the schoolchildren of New York City.

Long before Gulick came to New York City, he recognized America's urban problems. He described the industrial city as a "biological furnace . . . a breeding place of iniquities that blots civilization." (6) Despite the adversities associated with the city, Gulick hailed New York City as the greatest city in the greatest country in the world. He looked forward to meeting the challenges awaiting him there. (7)

Upon assuming his position in the New York City Public Schools, Dr. Gulick examined closely the conditions in which athletics took place. He found acceptable programs in operation during the summer months along with some effective recreation programs operating during the evening hours all year around. These programs, however, did not meet the needs of the city's older boys (early adolescents). Gulick also discovered, much to his dismay, many big semi-truant boys playing baseball for schools which they did not attend. Smaller boys looked up to these big semi-truants and idolized them as their heroes. The semi-truant, more often than not, resorted to unsportsmanlike tactics and dishonesty on the playing field. Gulick, having after-school programs under his jurisdiction, set out to devise a program that would eliminate the semi-truant and enable all the boys of the city, not just a few hundred, to benefit from the physical experiences and "moral and social lessons that are afforded by properly conducted games and sports." (8)

Elaborating on the moral and social lessons of athletics, Gulick extolled these benefits as the agent for developing loyalty. He reasoned that athletics involve intimate contact between individuals, causing one to subordinate himself to the loyalty of the team. These qualities were rapidly disappearing from society, particularly in the city where forces of industrialization and technological developments were pulling the family apart. (9) The gang, in some respects, had replaced the family, but it often engaged in adverse behavior. Cognizant of the gang phenomenon postulated by Jacob Riis, Gulick believed that gang members, in order to remain loyal to the group, often engage in activities which oppose the social order. Gulick argued that athletic competition, when conducted properly, will channel adverse behavior into constructive behavior. (10) Group loyalty becomes team loyalty, and team loyalty enhances school loyalty, for the spirit of loyalty and morality demonstrated publicly spreads to all the students, not just those who compete. (11) "In an institution where the athletic spirit is strong," maintained Gulick, "school spirit is strong and school spirit is likely to be of a high quality." (12)

Although the spirit of school athletics can have positive effects on the student body, Gulick believed strongly in mass participation and vigorous activities for adolescent boys. He promoted such vigorous activities as running, jumping, swimming, lacrosse, and basketball. At the same time he called for the deemphasis of fierce competition. He wanted the physically skilled boys to enjoy the benefits of closely supervised athletic competition, but he also wanted exercise programs that would interest students and, simultaneously, meet their physical needs. This could be accomplished best, he thought, through play, athletics and dance. (13) Gulick's philosophy of competitive athletic experiences for physically skilled boys and mass participation in physical activities by the entire student body provided the foundation upon which the Public Schools Athletic League was built.

## Organization and Structure of the Public Schools Athletic League

Even though the PSAL was an expression of his philosophy, Dr. Gulick was not solely responsible for its genesis. Two other influential New Yorkers--General George W. Wingate, Civil War veteran currently serving on the New York City Board of Education, and James E. Sullivan, secretary of the Amateur Athletic Union--were involved. Both gentlemen had a keen interest in schoolboy athletics, and Gulick's ideas on education and athletics meshed well with theirs. Sullivan, at one point, asked Gulick to establish a branch of the AAU in the public schools. (14) Gulick responded with his plan for school athletics that would benefit everyone. General Wingate, a long-time advocate of physical training and athletics in the schools, welcomed Gulick's thoughts and supported them fully. With the encouragement and able assistance of Sullivan and Wingate, Gulick proposed an inclusive athletic program that involved extensive interschool competition and mass participation.

Although Dr. Gulick's proposal for school athletics was the most grandiose and far-reaching America had yet seen, his notion of interschool competition was not new to New York City public schools. High schools of the city and on Long Island had competed interscholastically in baseball, football and track and field during the 1890s. (15) Dr. C. Ward Crampton, physical director at Manhattan's High School of Commerce and later PSAL secretary, held a dual athletic meet between his school and Commercial High School of Brooklyn in

February 1903. At this meet 50 boys from each school participated in four events--basketball, broad jump, shot put, and a relay race. (16) Public School 89 and several other schools conducted field day competitions before Gulick came to New York. Several years earlier General Wingate had introduced in the schools the American Guard, a schoolboy military organization. The boys engaged in calisthenics and military drill and practiced riflery. Shooting tournaments were held periodically. (17)

While inter-institutional competition had existed in various forms in the public schools of New York prior to Gulick's arrival, it was present also among Gulick's past experiences. As director of physical training at the Springfield YMCA College, Gulick was involved in the formation of the Athletic League of the YMCAs of North America in 1895 and was secretary of the League's Governing Committee. The League held athletic and gymnastic competitions among the Associations, subscribing to the principles of amateurism. (18) Gulick's experiences here undoubtedly helped to shape his philosophy on competitive athletics.

On the basis of his previous experiences, his assessment of athletics in the New York City schools, and the advice of Sullivan and Wingate, Luther Gulick devised the plan for the Public Schools Athletic League. In October 1903 he presented it to the superintendent of schools, William H. Maxwell, and several members of the board of education at a series of meetings. Superintendent Maxwell, a friend of controlled athletic competition, approved of the League concept to which the board of education concurred. James E. Sullivan, General Wingate and John Eustance Finley, president of the City College of New York, also attended these meetings. Their allegiance to schoolboy athletics, combined with Superintendent Maxwell's bias for the same, influenced the board's decision. (19) Even though the board of education sanctioned the PSAL, the League remained a private corporation not eligible for public funding. The first order of business, then, for the League's founders was to attract financial and moral support for their new organization.

Seeking immediate backing for the new organization, the PSAL founders concentrated on New York City's business and merchant class. In early November 1903, James Sullivan and Luther Gulick drafted a letter, inviting carefully selected prominent citizens to serve on the PSAL's first board of directors. In the letter, they listed the objectives of the PSAL, justified its needs and outlined its structure. The League's primary objective was "to promote useful athletics among the boys and young men attending the public schools of the City of New York." (20) Justifying the need for athletic programs for boys, Sullivan and Gulick wrote: "What is wanted is something which can be done after school hours, which will tend to create a good physical development, teach the boys to "play fair" and to allow them to work off, in a natural way, the boyish energy which leads them to join the "gang" and get into mischief or worse." (21) Although the League founders' immediate concern was athletic programs for boys, they were well aware of the physical activity needs of girls, and planned to introduce athletic programs for them at a future date. Speaking on this subject, General Wingate remarked: "It is certainly just as essential that they [girls] be strong and robust, too, but our efforts in their behalf will come later on." (22)

With the emphasis on boys' athletics, the League founders, through their letter campaign, secured 17 men to serve on the PSAL's first board of directors. They served in this capacity until the first annual meeting when the general membership elected the directors. The League officers, in turn, were elected by the directors. General Wingate became the PSAL's first president and served in that capacity for more than 25 years. John E. Finley was elected vice-president, Solomon R. Guggenheim as treasurer, and Luther Halsey Gulick as secretary, a position he held until 1909. (23) In addition to recruiting individuals to serve on its board of directors, the League solicited general memberships on a subscription basis. Regular members paid $10 per year and life members paid $50. There were 328 memberships purchased during the League's first year. (24)

The League had to design an administrative structure that could provide exercise and athletic experiences for 600,000 students enrolled in New York City's 630 schools. (25) To accomplish this huge task, the PSAL organized the city into district athletic leagues on the basis of existing school districts. Each two adjacent school districts comprised one district league. The PSAL, thus, consisted initially of 22 district athletic leagues; by 1910 it had expanded to 25. (26) Each district league had its own board of directors which governed athletics and allocated funds. Forming the district boards of directors were members of local school boards, school principals, teachers and businessmen. While the district leagues administered athletic programs for elementary and high schools within its district, two PSAL committees--the Elementary Games Committee and the High School Games Committee--governed all general matters pertaining to athletics in the elementary and secondary schools, respectively, throughout the 25 district leagues. One member from each district league served on the Elementary Games Committee, and one member from each high school sat on the High School Games Committee. Championships for each sport in the elementary and secondary schools were held at the district, borough and city levels. (27)

In order to obtain funds to initiate and sustain the work of the PSAL, Gulick, Wingate, Sullivan and other League officials appealed to New York City's most prominent entrepreneurs. The response was magnificent. Private citizens contributed $40,000 to the PSAL during the first four years. Among the private contributors were John D. Rockefeller; Andrew Carnegie; J. Pierpont Morgan; William K. Vanderbilt; Clarence H. Mackay, director of International Telegraph and Telephone; wealthy merchant Cleveland H. Dodge; banking and mining magnate Harry Payne Whitney; copper and tin baron Solomon Guggenheim; and the Pratt Brothers of Brooklyn's Pratt Institution. (28) In addition to money, several citizens donated expensive and seemingly lavish trophies to be awarded to the city champions of the various competitions. The most elegant trophies were provided by William Randolph Hearst of the New York Journal, former baseball pitcher and sporting goods manufacturer, Albert G. Spalding, Alfred G. Vanderbilt, Cleveland H. Dodge, and Harry Payne Whitney. Dr. R. Tait McKenzie, renowned physical educator, surgeon and sculptor, was commissioned to carve several of the trophies. (29)

Luther Gulick and League officials introduced the public to the PSAL when they held an athletic extravaganza at Madison Square Garden on December 26, 1903. As an attention getter for the schoolboy gala, Gulick proposed a pyrotechnic relay race from the board of education building to the Garden in which each runner would carry a flaming torch for two blocks. Superintendent William H. Maxwell and other school officials, however, objected to the relay spectacle, forcing Gulick to cancel it. The competition at Madison Square Garden, billed as the largest athletic meet in the world, attracted 1,040 boys, most of whom came from elementary schools. This number represented about one-fourth of the boys who had been training for this event during the past two months. (30)

This meet, consisting of track and field events and basketball contests, was extremely well organized. Because some boys participated in more than one event, meet officials had to handle 1,523 entries. At times there were as many as five events conducted simultaneously; for example, two basketball games, the relay race, high jump, and shot put. The enormous size of the meet was depicted in the 220-yard and 50-yard races. The former had 200 entries and took 38 heats to complete, while the latter had 338 boys entered and took 43 heats. Competition was spread over two sessions, one in the afternoon, the other in the evening. Cold weather kept the crowd down; nevertheless 4,000 spectators witnessed the afternoon events and 5,000 patronized the evening games. (31) PSAL officers and supporters, pleased with the success of the meet, proclaimed it the most important athletic event ever held in the United States. Luther Gulick reinforced this sentiment when he declared that "they are the greatest games held in any country in modern times, but it is nevertheless a fact that not since the days when gladiators entered Roman arenas in thousands have so many contestants decided the question of superiority with the same time limit we have brought." (32) Gulick, though praising the success of this athletic spectacle as the dawning of a new era in schoolboy athletics, emphasized that future meets would have fewer contestants. (33)

As League officials had hoped, New York newspapers enthusiastically endorsed the PSAL, giving it valuable publicity not only for this meet but for all of its future activities as well. The Sunday World, Herald, Times, Globe, Evening Post, Tribune, Sun, Brooklyn Citizen, and Brooklyn Eagle helped the most. (34)

While newspaper coverage was important, the Madison Square Garden meet and ultimately the PSAL itself could not have been successful without the voluntary help of numerous teachers. More than 400 of them donated their time to countless after-school practice sessions, helping the students acquire and perfect athletic skills. The teachers' assistance certainly enhanced teacher-pupil relations. (35)

The voluntary help of the teachers and newspaper publicity were doubtlessly crucial to the PSAL's operation and continued success. The new organization, however, received an immense boost in prestige and stature in 1905 when President Theodore Roosevelt accepted General Wingate's invitation to serve as the PSAL's honorary vice-president. Excited about the League's work, Roosevelt, in his letter of acceptance, commended public school officials and New York citizens for joining forces to form this organization. Of their altruistic effort, he wrote: "You are doing one of the greatest and most partriotic services that can be done, and you are entitled to the healthiest backing in every way from all who appreciate the vital need of having the rising generation of Americans sound in body, mind, and soul." (36)

Roosevelt praised athletics, viewing them as filling the breach created by the unpleasantries of urban life. Echoing the sentiments of Jacob Riis and Luther Gulick, the President believed that "wholesome exercise" and "vigorous play" would redirect the energies of young boys from the midsdeeds of gangs to constructive behavior. Emphasizing the function of athletics in this behavioral transformation, he wrote, "every boy who knows how to play baseball or football, to box or wrestle, has by just so much fitted himself to be a better citizen." (37)

## PSAL Activities and Events

The PSAL met one of its objectives by providing interschool athletic competition for boys through track and field meets, basketball and baseball contests, and other sporting events. To accomplish its ultimate goal of "sports for all," the League introduced two unique features--class athletics and the athletic badge test. (38)

## Class Athletics

Class athletics encouraged the good student with mediocre or poor athletic ability to participate with the good athlete in physical activities. In class athletics students competed as a class; the average of the class, not individual performances, determined the victors. Because the League required 80 percent of the class to participate in this type of competition, the scores of the mediocre and poor performers were just as necessary as those of the highly skilled athletes. A second requirement for participation in class athletics was a "B" average in studies and deportment which had to be verified by the school principal. This stipulation induced poor students to make a greater effort with their studies and behavior so they, too, could compete with their class. (39)

Competition in class athletics was open to boys in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grades. Classes at each grade level in every school interested in this competition performed the broad jump, pull-ups and a dash. Each school was responsible for testing its own classes. The three classes with the highest averages for each event in each of New York City's five boroughs were retested by League officials. On the retest, a class had to make an equal or higher score; if it failed to do so, it was disqualified, and the class with the next lower average in its borough took its place. At each grade level, the class with the highest average score for each event received a revolving trophy which it kept for one year. (40) Participation in class athletics was massive. In 1914, for instance, 63,901 boys representing 2,248 classes took part in the broad jump, 43,345 boys from 1,609 classes performed pull-ups, and 34,377 boys from 1,192 classes ran the dash. (41)

## Athletic Badge Tests

Just as class athletics stimulated athletic participation and enhanced scholarship, so, too, did the athletic badge tests. Any boy who attained the standards prescribed by the PSAL in running, jumping and chinning events qualified for the athletic badge--a bronze or bronze-silver medal in the elementary grades and a silver medal in high school. To be eligible for the badge test, however, an elementary school boy had to maintain a "B" average in effort, proficiency and deportment, while a high school boy had to perform "satisfactory work" in the classroom. (42) Athletic standards for the badge test were established according to age, with age 13 serving as the dividing line for elementary school pupils. To qualify for the athletic badge, boys under age 13 had to run the 60-yard dash in 8 3/5 seconds or less, do four or more pull-ups, and jump a distance of 5'5" or more from a standing position. The standards for boys over age 13 were 8 seconds in the 60-yard dash indoors or 14 seconds in the 100-yard dash outdoors, six pull-ups, and a standing broad jump of 6½'.

For high school boys, the standards were 28 seconds in the 220-yard run, nine pull-ups, and a running high jump of 4'4". At the elementary school level, the athletic badge test was often held in conjunction with class athletics. Boys who reached the athletic badge standards in class competitions received the athletic badge. (43)

That mass athletic participation improved the strength of public schoolboys was evident from the results of the athletic badge tests during the League's first 12 years. In 1904 when the badge test was introduced, 1,162 boys or 2 percent of those taking the test won badges. Five years later 7,049 boys representing 59 percent of the boys taking the test won badges, and in 1915 the number of boys qualifying for athletic badges was 24,756. The school that qualified the highest percentage of boys for the athletic badge won the "Soldier or Marathon" trophy donated by Board of Education President Egerton L. Winthrop, Jr. (44)

## Interschool Athletic Competition

For boys possessing unusual athletic skills who sought and needed greater challenges through athletics than either class contests or the badge tests could provide, the PSAL sponsored interschool athletic competition. To be eligible, a boy had to conform to the same scholastic standards established for class athletics and the badge test. Elementary school competition was conducted through the district leagues, and the high schools were all grouped into a single league. Initially the League emphasized sports with which the boys were already familiar. It held competition in basketball, baseball, rifle marksmanship, and the track and field events of running, jumping, relays, and the shot put. By 1907 competitions in soccer, cross-country, swimming, tennis, lacrosse, roller skating, ice skating, and rowing were added. The League dropped the latter two activities in 1908 because they were too expensive to operate. (45)

As a safety measure, the PSAL classified boys for athletic competition according to weight. There were two weight classes in basketball--95 and 125 pounds. Four weight brackets, 85, 95, and 115 pounds and the unlimited weight categories, constituted the divisions for track and field. Track and field events were different for each weight division. Smaller boys were not permitted to enter races and other competition that might place undue stress on their heart and lungs. (46)

Interschool competition in most individual and team sports culminated in city championships. The schools winning their district leagues competed for the championship of the borough where they were located. The borough champions then played each other for the city title. During the League's early years, the baseball tournaments were extremely popular. In 1907 a record 106 schools entered teams, making it the largest baseball tourney held up to that time. (47)

Unlike the team sports, individual sports such as track and field, swimming and cross-country permitted district winners to join borough champions at the city championship competitions. Perhaps the most dramatic city championships were the elementary track and field championships held at Madison Square Garden. At the 1914 city championships, 2,040 boys vied for the city championships. The meet began with the procession of athletes. Marching six abreast, the athletes, following the school band, passed in review. Then they formed two battalions in front of the reviewing stand with the band occupying the center position. When the color guard arrived and took its position, the athletes saluted the flag in unison and sang the national anthem. The 7,000 spectators joined them in this patriotic display. Following the opening ceremonies, the boys competed in their events. The meet directors ran the competition efficiently for it was completed in 2 hours and 20 minutes. At times they had as many as nine track and field events taking place at once. (48)

Hoping to induce large numbers of boys to run moderate distances at moderate paces, Luther Gulick introduced cross-country running. He brought in champion runners to instruct them in running techniques. He encouraged boys to run en masse each week for he believed running "tends to produce a steady vitality, and a will-power that does not flinch before fatigue--qualities which are peculiarly difficult to secure under present-day conditions of urban life." (49)

The most controversial activity sponsored by the PSAL was rifle marksmanship. The brainchild of General Wingate, riflery existed in the public schools prior to the League's inception. Considered educationally unsound by some citizens, they condemned it on the grounds that guns have no place in school. General Wingate retorted by claiming that rifle training produces marksmen, which is the "greatest guarantee for national peace." He explained that "the way to insure peace is for the country to be prepared itself in case of war, and the only way this country will ever become prepared for war is to have the people as a mass trained in the use of the rifle, as their forefathers were at Lexington and Bunker Hill, so that as citizen soldiers they will be formidable to their opponents." (50)

Bolstering Wingate's stand on riflery in the schools came a strong endorsement from President Roosevelt. Reiterating Wingate's supposition that marksmanship deters aggressors, the President said that riflery lends itself to "increasing the military strength of the country and thus making for peace." (51) To foster the rifle program even more, Roosevelt announced he would send a personal letter to the student who made the highest average each year. (52)

Riflery, though, despite Wingate's and Roosevelt's support, would not have succeeded without the generosity of League treasurer, Solomon Guggenheim. He donated 12 sub-target gun machines which the League placed in various high schools throughout the city. The sub-target gun machine made it possible to teach marksmanship without ammunition. The shooter aimed the gun-machine at the target and this device, through simulation, recorded the position where an actual bullet would have struck the target. Marksmanship competitions were held among high schools having a gun machine. The winning school received the Wingate trophy, a rotating plaque which it kept for one year. Rifle tournaments with live ammunition were held at the rifle galleries of various National Guard armories in New York City during the winter months. In warm weather, the League held outdoor matches on the rifle ranges at Creedmoor and Peekskill, New York. Students who qualified as marksmen or sharpshooters received badges provided by the Brooklyn Eagle. (53)

## Special Events

In addition to organized athletic competition, the PSAL held special events. Several were sponsored by local newspapers, most notably the Sunday World which in 1906 inaugurated its annual field days for elementary schoolboys. The newspaper sponsored field days at the first 100 elementary schools that agreed to hold them. The victors at each meet were then brought together in one grand finale. The number of schools holding field days increased steadily each year, and the Sunday World increased its benevolence accordingly. In 1914 more than 100,000 boys at 176 schools participated in 181 field days; several schools, having more than 1,000 entries, had to conduct two meets. At the 1914 finale, 1,200 boys classified into four weight divisions entered five track and field events. (54)

The Sunday World, along with financing the field days, sponsored walking clubs. General Wingate drew up the rules for this activity which involved boys and girls. When a group of eight pupils formed a squad, which was the basic unit of the walking club, they filed an entry list with the Sunday World and the PSAL. As soon as these two bodies approved their entry, the students began the competition, walking any of the various tours through the city designed by the League and the Sunday World. The majority of a squad had to walk at least two miles every time it began a tour and had to be accompanied by a teacher. There was no limit to the number of squads a school could have. (55) Medals were given to students covering predetermined distances. Bronze medals were awarded to boys who walked 50 miles per quarter (about two months) and to girls who walked 35 miles. Boys walking 100 miles in a quarter and girls walking 50 miles during the same time period won silver medals. In 1910 there were 512 squads with 4,000 members in 81 elementary schools; the girls' squads numbered 114. During the first quarter of the 1910 school year, the pupils won 1,300 medals. (56)

To show the public the results of the League's athletic programs and physical and hygenic training in the public schools, the PSAL occasionally put on public exhibitions. One of its most ambitious undertakings was the massive demonstration of 10,000 schoolboys held on the Central Park Green in June 1913. The boys, bedecked in white and arranged in teams of 45, marched three abreast onto the park green in mid-afternoon. Upon taking their position and responding to the sound of the bugle and the pistol, the ten thousand performed deep breathing, toe touching and knee bending in unison. Next came the shuttle relay race in which half of the group, or 100 teams, participated. Each team was divided so that half of its members was stationed at opposite ends of a 100-yard field. Each boy ran one length of the field, handing the baton to his teammate at the other end. The race continued until every member of each team had run. Following the shuttle relay, the other half of the group participated in the standing broad jump race. In this contest the second jumper began his jump where the first jumper's heels struck the ground, and the third where the second jumper hit, and so forth. When the jumpers finished, the borough champions of baseball, basketball and soccer played 10-minute exhibition games. The demonstration concluded with the boys passing in review and a patriotic closing ceremony. The ten thousand saluted the flag and sang the national anthem. (57)

Theodore Roosevelt, one of the guests of honor at the demonstration, congratulated the PSAL for its outstanding work with the schoolboys. In commending the League, he struck a patriotic note:

> I feel the work of the League is the greatest force for good, not only in the city but in the Nation. . . . Nothing could do more to show loyalty, enthusiasm, and democracy of the American people than those 10,000 boys of all races and creeds. It is indicative of the leveling force of athletics, where rich and poor are absolutely on an equality. No matter what dangers the Nation may have to face, boys of this kind becoming men will see to it that the Nation will live forever. (58)

Public demonstrations such as this highlighted the boys' athletic and exercise programs. The League, aware of the public schools' female population, though to a lesser degree, made provisions for their exercise needs through the Girls' Branch of the PSAL.

## Girls' Branch of the PSAL

League officials and several wealthy New York women organized in 1905 the Girls' Branch of the Public Schools Athletic League to administer the exercise and activity programs for girls. In addition to their financial contributions, several society women voluntarily served as officers of the Girls' Branch. Catharine Leverich was its first president and Mmes. Cleveland H. Dodge, S. R. Guggenheim and Richard Aldrich were the vice-presidents. (59)

For leadership and guidance, the Girls' Branch looked to Luther Gulick whose philosophy of physical activity for women influenced the direction the Girls' Branch took. Gulick believed that girls were biologically inferior to boys from an evolutionary standpoint and therefore could not and should not engage in the same kind of strenuous activities that boys did. (60)

Equally influential as Gulick, if not more so, was Elizabeth Burchenal, physical educator and first secretary of the Girls' Branch. Subscribing to Gulick's philosophy of inherent biological differences between the sexes, Burchenal argued that girls and boys should not participate in the same types of athletic contests because athletics "evolved from the primitive pursuits and activities of men--not women." For boys, she continued, athletics served a "necessary outlet for their inherited fighting instinct" while for girls athletics are a "substitute for the natural wholesouled exhilarating activities which are necessary to health and happiness, and of which convention and dress and resulting unnatural habits have deprived her." (61)

Although Burchenal agreed with Gulick that separate physical activities should be provided for boys and girls, she insisted that women must determine for themselves what exercises are best suited for girls. She believed women were capable of prescribing exercises mechanically suited for the female body that would contribute to health and vitablity. She opposed training girls to set records, fearing that such training would cause injury. She eliminated the combative elements from girls athletics by emphasizing relay races, dance and swimming. She wanted basketball and other team games to accentuate wit and agility, played for fun, rather than brute force and bodily contact. (62)

With the philosophies of Burchenal and Gulick molding the Girls' Branch, this arm of the PSAL promoted folk dance, certain games, and walking for elementary school girls and limited track and field activities for high school girls. In the latter, the pole vault, high jump, and broad jump were not permitted. The Girls' Branch stressed group participation and prohibited individual and interschool competition. Girls clubs could compete against one another but only if they were located at the same school. Formulating its policy, the Girls' Branch adopted the following precepts:

1. Sports for sport's sake--no gate money
2. Athletics for all girls
3. Athletics within the school and no inter-school competition
4. Athletic events in which teams (not individual girls) compete
5. Athletics chosen and practiced with regard to their suitability for girls and not merely in imitation of boys' athletics (63)

Adhering to these guidelines, the Girls' Branch stimulated folk dancing for girls in the schools through free workshops for teachers. They, in turn, taught folk dancing in their own schools. This program was so successful that the in-service instructional program under the direction of Ms. Burchenal had to be expanded. (64)

To show the public the role of folk dancing in public schools, the Girls' Branch held park fetes in which thousands of girls from many different schools performed folk dances in the city's parks. There were 2,000 girls assembled in Central Park in 1908 for the first fete; in 1915, the Central Park demonstration attracted nearly 8,000 girls. (65)

The work of the Girls' Branch drew praise from PSAL officials. Dr. Gulick commended it not only for keeping young ladies out of trouble, but also for giving them opportunities to find happiness and joy through physical activity. (66) Dr. C. Ward Crampton, Gulick's assistant and successor as League secretary, went a step further in lauding the work of the Girls' Branch. Crampton said, "It is eminently fitting that the greatest city in this hemisphere, with its huge responsibilities, should be the most advanced in the enlightened race and development of its children, and it is pleasing to note that the methods, materials and ideals of the Girls' Branch of the Public Schools Athletic League have been adopted all over the civilized world." (67)

PSAL's Effects and Influences

PSAL officials continuously spoke of the contributions of athletics to scholarship, morality, citizenship and health. League president, General George W. Wingate, a longtime believer that athletics improves scholarship, described this relationship in his 1914 Presidential address:

> With every year the standard of athletic ability in the schools becomes higher and records which were considered wonderful when made are surpassed. Accompanying this is a marked improvement in the carriage of the person, alertness of mind and body, and the general air of strength and health resulting from athletic experiences which the children have pursued.
>
> Gratifying as is this from the physical side, the improvement on the side of ethics, school discipline, and espirit de corps is even greater. (68)

General Wingate attributed these beneficial effects, in part, to the League's eligibility rule. Pupils had to have a "B" average in effort, proficiency and deportment during the previous month in order to participate in the League's athletics programs.

The impact of athletics on school discipline was observed at one upper East Side Manhattan school. At this school 50 incorrigible boys, known for their insolence, repeatedly disrupted classes. Ms. Hirtland, a basketball enthusiast, took over their class. With the principal's consent, she took these boys to the gym each day and played basketball with them for an hour. When she returned to the classroom with them, they were tired and ready to learn. From the time she began this practice, the boys did well in the classroom and caused her no further trouble. (69)

Not only did athletics improve discipline, League officers maintained, but it also motivated students to practice honesty. Public School 6 of Manhattan defeated Public School 77 by one point for the city track and field championship. Shortly after the contest, League officials discovered that Public School 6 unknowingly used an ineligible student in the relay race. When Public School 6 players heard this, they returned the championship trophy to the League office the very next day. General Wingate could not think of a greater example of honesty. (70)

Athletics, in addition to influencing morality, contributed to the boys' health. General Wingate, noting a 20 percent improvement in the boys' physiques during the PSAl's first three years, attributed the improvement to the League's athletic programs. He believed that the League's work also discouraged youth from smoking cigarettes. Wingate remarked that the PSAL "wages a persistent and highly successful war on cigarette smoking (that bane of youth) and other bad habits.... This it does, not by preaching, but because in becoming interested in athletics, they are taught that they cannot excel unless they take care of their bodies, and to do this means keeping away from these things." (71)

Extending Wingate's ideas on the benefits of athletics to physical health, Dr. Crampton contended that athletics may well prevent tuberculosis. Exercising in the open air, he argued, makes the lungs strong and less susceptible to tuberculosis. (72) Both Wingate and Crampton proclaimed the PSAL's activities as an effective antidote to insidious city conditions--poor air, crowded living quarters and delinquent behavior. (73)

Contributing to the city's problems and congestion were the hordes of immigrants who came to America's shores and settled in New York City during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. PSAL activities helped to enculturate them. Concurring with Gulick's belief that athletics enhances school loyalty, Dr. Crampton viewed athletics as the agent which helped immigrants develop loyalties to their respective schools, which, in turn, Crampton reasoned, led to city loyalty and ultimately to national loyalty. (74)

Possibly the clearest statement on the League's influence, as seen through its founders' eyes, appeared in Dr. Crampton's 1910 report of the secretary to the PSAL:

> The League is winning its way toward its great goal, the physical efficiency of its boys and girls and the inculcation of the great athletic ideals of courage, honesty, courtesy and strength. It has the support of the public and the city administration and will return large dividends in the form of able men and women trained in body and soul, for their own happiness and the welfare of the State. (75)

The PSAL's athletic programs not only affected the youth of New York City, but its influence extended also to millions of schoolchildren across America. By 1910, 17 other cities had formed athletic leagues modeled after the PSAL. (76) Nor was the League's popularity confined to America, for Chile, Argentina, India and Turkey inquired about its programs. (77)

Some school districts looked to the League for innovative athletic programs, while others sought its services for determining the amateur status of schoolboys. School districts in New Jersey and Connecticut repeatedly relied on the PSAL for interpreting the eligibility of their athletes. (78)

While the PSAL gained recognition from near and afar as the leader in public school athletics, the board of education elevated the League's status within the school district. The board, having previously sanctioned the League's work, formally approved it on December 30, 1914. The board made the League a part of it, so the PSAL could receive funds from the city budget to carry on its mission with schoolchildren. (79)

## Summary and Conclusions

The Public Schools Athletic League, thus, was a progenitor of and leader in public school athletics. It organized athletics on the largest scale known up to that time and provided these programs to hundreds of thousands of children. As General Wingate often said, it was truly the world's greatest athletic organization. Its efforts attracted great support from the local citizenry as well as the respect and admiration of educators and school administrators throughout America. The Public Schools Athletic League succeeded in its mission to provide organized athletic experiences for city schoolchildren.

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# SPORTS AND GAMES IN EASTERN SCHOOLS, 1780-1880

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Games and sports have been part of American social culture from the time of the earliest settlers. The extent and types of sports pursued by Americans reflected and were influenced by economic development, population growth and the social matrix in each region. The period between 1780 and 1880 was one of change, development, ferment, and social and humanitarian reforms. Each change in social patterns influenced what sports Americans pursued and the extent of participation both in leisure time and school physical exercise programs.

Immigrants brought their love of sports and recreation to the growing towns and cities, religious and moral leaders advocated some utilitarian sports to keep people from more sinful diversions, technological advances broadened social and sport opportunities, and educators and physicians increasingly expressed concern about the debilitation and posture deviations of children. (1) In the southern states sport selection and participation reflected the social structure of the population. Planters established horse racing clubs, hunting clubs and fox hunting groups. Cricket, target shooting, fowling, boating, billiards, and fencing were popular recreations for the leisure class during the antebellum period. (2) Few southern athletic clubs survived the Civil War and many of the customary sports were abandoned. In conquered territory baseball was quickly revived, though a Vicksburg team complained that there were no other teams nearby to compete against. (3) During the Reconstruction period the South was impoverished and in a state of social upheaval, making it difficult for widespread sport competition in schools and colleges and between towns. There was a revival of baseball, yachting and horse racing, with many southerners turning to these sports to relax and forget the rigors of the past. (4)

In the northern states, as the middle class and city population grew, resistance to sports and recreations decreased. Despite religious leaders' objections, New Englanders did play games and sports, even on Sunday. In 1811 four young men of Addison County, Vermont were each fined $1.50 to $2.11 for "not having the fear of God before their eyes but, being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil" on the Sabbath Day, they "feloniously, willfully and maliciously did fish with a Net in Lake Champlain." (5) Town ordinances were established prohibiting Sunday sports and sinful diversions. That these ordinances were violated can be seen in the frequent admonitions expressed from the pulpit and fines assessed violators.

The puritan work ethic, though remaining strong even today, began to ease as leisure time increased among factory workers and city dwellers. Aided by the increased publication of sport periodicals and books, physicians' concerns about health of young people, and the growth of educational opportunities for children, sports became accepted as one avenue for developing healthy robust citizens.

Sports became issues on political campaigns and were used in cartoons to depict the strength and vitality of prospective candidates for political offices. (6) Billiards became a hotly debated issue during the 1828 presidential campaign. John Quincy Adams installed a billiard table in the White House in 1825 for his own "exercise and amusement" as well as for the diversion of his family and guests. This purchase became the subject of numerous attacks on Adams' morality. Opponents were convinced that Adams was countenancing the vice of gambling. (7)

## Education

Education throughout the East during the nineteenth century has been characterized as innovative, praiseworthy in theory, and sporadic in the practice of its theory. Most shcools remained one-room buildings with potbelly stoves and poor ventilation, led by poorly educated teachers, and attended irregularly by students. Seldom did a school remain in session for more than 10 weeks per year. Most teachers had little more education than their students. In 1853 Marianne Finch reported that half of the Virginia adults were illiterate and 75,000 children were not attending any schools. (8) George Smith reported that "few men, even owners of 1,000 acre plots, could barely write their names and very few women even of the best families ever spent a day in a school room." (9) As late as 1873 about half of North Carolina youngsters were attending school and the school terms in the state remained 10 weeks. (10) In view of the paucity of accurate school records before 1880 in many areas, attendance and the type and amount of education available to students are difficult to assess.

Nonetheless some school reports were kept and preserved. It is from these that we are able to trace curricular design and program innovations. Also indications of various school programs can be derived from letters of teachers and students and education journals published after 1820. In the following discussion of games and sports in eastern schools, the examples given are isolated instances and not examples of widespread practice.

## Physical Education in Eastern Schools

Early advocates of physical education in schools stressed the need for a healthy vigorous body to give energy to the intellect. William Alcott wrote in 1826 that a healthy body was "the basis of all rational and successful cultivation." (11) Charles Caldwell, in a paper given at the Teachers Convention in Lexington, Kentucky in 1833, stressed the need for vigorous physical exercise in schools as a high priority in curriculum design. He stated:

> To the perfection of our race, then, liberal exercise in the open air-a much larger amount of it than is taken by children at school, especially female children - is essential. Never will mankind attain the high standards, either bodily or mental, of which they are susceptible, until females . . . take more and freer exercise, out of doors, than they do at present. (12)

Caldwell recommended manual labor, gymnastics and sports as appropriate physical education activities.

By 1862 the need for physical exercise programs in schools was widely acknowledged by educators. In Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, John Hart admonished a graduating class of young men about their lack of physical exercise. He warned that "more educated men fail of distinction through the want of bodily vigor than from any other cause, [and] educated men do not achieve half that they might achieve, for the want of the necessary physical vigor." (13) These educators advocated sports as one means of obtaining physical vigor in school programs.

Other educators noted the merits of physical activity for developing morals and social manners as well as being a pleasant means of exercise. Though many types of physical exercise programs were advocated and tried throughout the period, games and sports became increasingly suggested as possible physical education exercises.

A few writers suggested sports and games for women. They believed that "refined" sports would help girls become stronger and consequently better wives and mothers. (14) Thomas Higginson, in his articles in the Atlantic Monthly during the 1860s, brought to the attention of a broad audience the deplorable state of health among girls. He suggested instituting Dio Lewis' "New Gymnastics" and games and sports in school programs. Higginson advised women teachers to participate in sports so that they would remain healthy and set a proper example for their students. (15)

Games and sports were not considered acceptable school activities by many schoolmasters. Some believed that school was a place to improve the intellect; the body could take care of itself. Hubbard Winslow stated in 1835 that educating muscles had no place in a school program. "Cultivation of sinews and muscles should be reserved for the laborer; students should train themselves to the least physical necessities and to the greatest and continued intellectual effort practical." (16) Winslow's remarks indicate the tenor of the conservative educators' concerns about these frivolous non-productive diversions. Other teachers thought physical exercise programs were necessary but games and sports were idle amusements with little merit. (17) Most teachers were indifferent on the subject or were confused by the claims made as to the merits of each type of program, thus they did not institute any program in their schools.

The various types of physical exercise programs advocated and instituted in some schools throughout the nineteenth century included German gymnastics, military exercise, calisthenics, manual labor, Dio Lewis' school gymnastics, Swedish gymnastics, and sports and games. Each type of program appealed to specific groups of educators. During the period 1825 to 1840, schools tended to select one type of program. After an initial trial, some schools began selecting elements from various types of exercise programs and adapting them according to the school's location, philosophy and the teacher's abilities. Thus, the period between 1840 and 1880 was one of "Americanizing" physical exercise programs to the interests of each community and school principal. This Americanizing process often included adding some games and sports to the more formalized activities.

Physical education was begun in some academies during the early nineteenth century. Prior to Round Hill's celebrated program (1824-1834), physical activities were taught in few schools and academies. During the 1780s Timothy Dwight designated specific recess periods and encouraged boys and girls to participate in vigorous games and sports. (18) Before 1820 Litchfield Academy in Connecticut began a form of calisthenics and bowling on the green and required the girls to walk one mile each day. (19) Boys at Phillips Exeter Academy in Massachusetts participated in military drills and sports during the afternoons. (20) Salem Academy students formed a military company called the Trojan Band. The band's members, under the supervision of Mr. Biglow, drilled in marching and military exercises and performed their maneuvers during the Academy Annual Exhibition in 1800. (21) At Frederick Academy in Maryland, Samuel Knox began a program involving dancing, fencing, and games and sports. (22)

During the 1820s German gymnastics were instituted in New England academies. Though the height of interest in this type of program occurred during the 1820s, German gymnastics programs were started in many schools until the Civil War. After the war, schools turned to Swedish or Dio Lewis gymnastics.

In the South, manual labor and military exercise programs were popular in many academies. It has been suggested by historians that Lethe Agricultural Seminary in South Carolina, founded in 1797, was the first manual labor school in the United States. (23) The principal of Lethe Seminary announced that "an hour every evening might be allowed the children to amuse themselves in innocent sports." (24) It appears the administration was condoning games and sports if the farm chores were completed. Other manual labor programs were begun in many southern academies between 1829-1847. (25)

During the antebellum period, southern academies increasingly turned to military exercise programs. Randolph Academy in Virginia introduced military training activities in 1829. (26) In 1834 Joseph Cogswell moved from Round Hill to the Episcopal School in Raleigh, North Carolina. Under his direction, sports and military exercises were incorporated into the program. (27) During the 1860s parents sent their sons to military schools to keep them out of the army but many boys deserted school as soon as they were well drilled. (28)

There were some notable programs established in the mid-Atlantic states during the first half of the nineteenth century. Joseph Neef began a school for boys near Philadelphia in 1809 based on Pestalozzian principles. The boys were taught swimming, gymnastics, outdoor sports and military drill. (29) New York High School, Lawrenceville School in New Jersey, Central High School in Philadelphia, and Ward 50 School in New York all had extensive physical exercise programs directed by faculty or students. (30)

By 1860 over 40 schools in the East had some form of physical education program. During the Civil War, education opportunities rapidly decreased and in the southern states became almost nonexistent in many areas. Schools that remained open added military training to their curricula. I have not found that military training replaced other physical exercise programs where they were already established. Between 1870 and 1880, as public high schools became more prevalent, interest in physical education increased. Graduates of physical culture institutes traveled throughout the East (and West), introducing physical education into schools.

## Sports and Games

During America's educational history there have been many advocates of sports and games. In 1772 Benjamin Rush stressed the need for a healthy active body and recommended walking, running, jumping, fencing, skating, tennis, bowls, quoits, and golf as pleasant activities for men and boys who did not get exercise through agricultural labor. (31) Samuel Knox wrote in 1799 that dancing, fencing, and games and sports should be incorporated in school programs. He noted that "exercise . . . was necessary for the vigor of body and mind." (32) Other pre-1880 advocates of sports for healthy physical development included de Lafitte du Courteil, Noah Webster and Timothy Dwight. (33) Each suggested using some sports and games in schools for their health benefits. In his plan for a national institution, de Lafitte du Courteil wrote:

> Some refuse to their children the exercise of horse, dance, fencing, drawing, music, etc. all of which are agreeable and often useful arts. The exercise of the body is conducive to health, unfolds youth, and gives it grace. To imagine that fencing gives a propensity to duelling, is an extreme error.... It has been observed . . . that persons who were the most expert at fencing, were more reserved, more honest, and less addicted to duelling, for which good education generally inspires them with horror. (34)

De Lafitte du Courteil also recommended teaching swimming "for it is useful that men learn to swim." Benjamin Franklin, a proficient swimmer, wrote a treatise on swimming techniques in 1769 stressing its healthful merits. (35)

One of the earliest educators to teach swimming in school was Samuel Moody, principal of Dummer Academy in Byfield, Massachusetts, 1763-1790. Moody believed that each boy should know how to swim because it was a healthful and relaxing activity and useful in saving lives. During school Moody would dismiss his class and order the boys to plunge into the nearby river whenever the tide was favorable. The students were separated according to their swimming ability and the young novices given swimming instruction. (36) Joseph Neef arranged his students in similar fashion when teaching them swimming in the Schuylkill River between 1809-1811. (37)

Swimming advocates noted that it was one of the most important branches of physical education. They stressed that it was healthful, a means of preserving lives in boating accidents, pleasurable, easy to learn, and it increased courage. Swimming lessons were given to boys attending Newbern Academy in North Carolina. (38) In South Carolina, William Elliot took his children and students to Bay Point to learn the "benefit of sea bathing." (39) In Connecticut, students at the New Haven Gymnasium and the New Haven Classical and Commercial School were given swimming lessons three times a week in Long Island Sound during summer terms. (40) Boys at Betts Academy in Connecticut taught younger students how to swim twice a week under Mr. Betts' supervision. (41) These students probably used such books as The Book of Sports, The Boy's Own Book, Carolina Sports or Book of American Pastimes for instructions in swimming techniques. (42)

Other water sports enjoyed by students included boating, sailing and skating. Frances Kemble described her first rowing experience on a Georgia river in 1838. "My first attempt was confined to pulling an oar across the stream, for which I rejoiced in sundry aches and pains altogether novel, letting alone a delightful row of blisters on each of my hands." (43) Kemble had resorted to this vigorous unladylike exercise to prevent her blood from "stagnating."

During the 1850s boating was taught at Middletown Institute and Preparatory School in Connecticut, Allen School in Massachusetts, and Berkeley Institute in Rhode Island. (44) It was so popular at Berkeley that the boys formed a boat club with its stated purpose being "full development of the physical powers and . . . a means of relaxation and amusement." After 1865 boating gained popularity as a collegiate and commercial activity but few references referred to boating in the burgeoning public schools.

Though swimming and fencing were considered useful sports for students early in the nineteenth century, other games and sports were often forbidden during school hours. The School of Good Manners, a book used in many schools for reading instruction, contained admonitions for youngsters concerning appropriate behavior at school, home and in social settings. Two precepts concerning recreation in it were:

> At play make not thy clothes, hands, or face dirty nor nasty, nor sit upon the ground.
>
> Avoid sinful and unlawful recreations, and all such as prejudice the welfare of body or mind. (45)

Similar restrictions were listed in various academy regulations. In 1799 John Adams Smith was fined for playing ball too close to Atkinson Academy in New Hampshire. (46) Stokes County, North Carolina, boys in 1808 were given 10 lashes for playing bandy at school. Four lashes were given if boys and girls played games together. (47)

Richmond Academy in Georgia listed the following regulations concerning games and sports in 1819.

> No playing of any kind shall be allowed in the Academy Lot before or during school hours, unless by special permission.
>
> Should any member of Scholars be collected together at Play in the Academy Lot, or elsewhere, when a Teacher passes near them, they must desist from their noise, and play until the Officer has gone by. (48)

Evidently Richmond students were allowed to play after school and even get dirty as long as they secured a friend to act as a "lookout" for the teacher.

Some educators advocated sports as part of regular physical education programs. William Elliot stressed that sport promoted manliness, good manners and relaxation from mental labor. (49) John Pickett noted that games and sports provided a medium for teacher training. He believed that if a child was able to teach others how to play popular games she would be able to teach academic subjects. (50) Teachers were advised to supervise sports during recess to control student behavior and provide moral guidance. (51) It was even suggested that teachers join students in sport activities to provide a good example of appropriate behavior. (52) One underlying influence for supervising games was the need to protect school property. Rules against ball playing and rock throwing had not been effective, thus some other method of controlling students and protecting school windows had to be devised.

Two widely-read transcendentalists, Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, stressed the intimate relationship between mind and body and the need for total development. Emerson believed you were not a fit teacher if you failed to provide physical education. He suggested archery, cricket, football, swimming, skating, fencing, and horseback riding as healthy enjoyable sports that all boys should learn. (53)

Activities deemed appropriate for females included rowing, swimming, archery, bowling, billiards, battledoor, shuttlecock, coronella, and demure skating. Women's magazines included articles on horseback riding and swimming as desirable social accomplishments. (54) Though girls played games during recess, few schools included them in physical education. Girls were given instruction in horseback riding and bowling at female seminaries, including Pittsfield Young Ladies Institute in Massachusetts, Glenwood Ladies Seminary in Vermont, and Macon Female Seminary in Georgia. (55)

Boys did not have the same restraints placed on their play activity. In many school records, references were made to games and sports. During the early 1800s the boys at Exeter Academy in New Hampshire played football in the fall and "rounders" (baseball) in the spring and summer. School teams were divided according to seating arrangement in the Latin room, with those north of the main aisle against those on the south side. (56)

In 1857 at the Family Classical School in Connecticut, Henry Colton taught boating, swimming, bowling, and billiards. (57) At Amherst Academy in Massachusetts, boys played plug ball, tag, wrestling and long jump, and in winter had snowball fights along with gymnastic exercises. (58) Each afternoon at the Allen School in Massachusetts was devoted to such sports as bowling, football, baseball, boating, and swimming under the supervision of competent instructors. (59) Young boys at Mount Pleasant School in Lexington engaged in "feats of strength, speed, or agility; each emulous to surpass his fellows in these exercises." (60)

The favorite sport of schoolboys throughout the East was some form of baseball. It was known as town ball, rounders, goal ball, then finally evolved into baseball. Before 1840 students at Portsmouth School Street Grammar School in New Hampshire played baseball during the summer on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, and Andrew Coughey played ball with his schoolmates in Erie County, Pennsylvania. (61)

In 1853 9 boys from Phillips Academy in Massachusetts challenged any 11 men to a game of rounders. The challenge was accepted and the game was played on a field near the Academy. The Phillips boys won, "the tally standing on the side of the nine, 50, on the side of the eleven, 17." (62) Worcester (Massachusetts) High School students formed a baseball club in 1859, then in October challenged the Eaglets, a Worcester town team. The game began at two o'clock with first one team then the other ahead by a few tallies, until after six o'clock when the games was adjourned because of darkness. The Worcester High School team was declared the winner, 48 to 42. (63) When the team was first organized, girls were designated as cheerleaders and scorers.

At the Gunnery in Connecticut the boys practiced baseball each evening during the summer. During the 1850s the boys played against their classmates, then in 1859 they played two games against a Litchfield men's team. Frederick Gunn, principal, helped his young boys by playing first base and hitting as many home runs as possible. He believed his students developed manly character by competing against men much older than themselves. (64)

Ball games were played by children in the East, but they were seldom included in physical education programs. Sporting equipment companies advertised bats and balls in most city newspapers from Boston to New Orleans. Sports clubs were formed in many communities. It is assumed that older children participated in some sports events, including horse racing, rowing, baseball, boxing, target shooting, and fishing. They also attended cockfights, horseshoe pitching matches and gander pulling. (65) Though popular in the East, these sports were recreational activities and not part of school programs. The rise in sports clubs, commercial sport and sport teams in colleges and communities between 1860-1880 was not parallelled by an increase in sports as part of school programs. It is possible that sports were included in some schools' curricula but not considered significant enough to report.

One institution in which sports were considered an integral part of the curriculum was the Gunnery in Washington, Connecticut. Frederick Gunn, founder and master, considered manhood, character and physique as the central objects of education for perfecting noble gentlemen. (66) To prepare young boys to achieve these objectives, he established the Gunnery as a day school in 1837. His unusual teaching methods and abolitionist ideas caused many citizens to mistrust him and he was forced to close his school. In 1847, under more favorable conditions, the school was reopened and in 1850 it became a boarding school for boys 8 to 15 years of age.

While at Yale, Gunn had developed athletic skills and a zest for many sports that he maintained as master at the Gunnery. He encouraged students to attempt almost any kind of athletic exercise because he believed that it helped build manly, Christian character as well as healthy bodies. The Gunnery boys, plus Gunn, played baseball, football and roly-boly and went sledding, skating, hunting, and fishing. Roly-boly, a game combining bowling and throwing skills, was usually played during recess. The boys considered it an honor to be designated class champion in a sport and were given a certificate of achievement for this accomplishment. Gunn did not neglect academic subjects at his school but scholastic achievements were secondary to self-reliance, wholesome morals, manhood, and character--traits that Gunn hoped his boys would develop through sports. (67)

During the Civil War enrollment at the Gunnery decreased rapidly as students joined the army. After the war, student enrollment increased and has been maintained throughout the past 127 years, providing students with extensive sport and academic programs. (68)

## Summary

Ideas concerning the values of games and sports for schoolchildren changed gradually between 1780 and 1880. Early in the period these activities, though not always condemned by teachers, were not considered as part of school programs. Sports considered acceptable for nonschool hours were those of a utilitarian nature such as hunting, fishing, field sports, boating and swimming. In a few schools, athletic schoolmasters did teach their young students sport skills during the afternoons after classes. However, few educators stressed the enjoyment aspect of sports.

After 1830 educators debated the merits of participating themselves in games and sports with students to provide moral guidance. Few references indicated that teachers thought about providing sport instruction. Parents who wanted their children to learn certain "refined" sports sent them to private instructors in the community during nonschool hours. By 1880 many sports were considered healthy, useful and pleasurable activities for boys. Higginson stressed the need of physical exercise for girls, but for the most part games and sports were not proposed by educators. The battle for social acceptance of girls participating in vigorous sports was one that had to be fought at a much later date.

Many academies and high schools provided playgrounds and facilities for students to use during recess time. Though many schools began physical education programs, and after 1870 some of these programs were taught by trained physical educators, few faculty provided instruction in sports and even fewer participated in any physical activity with their students. Sport clubs were organized in order to compete against other teams but these clubs primarily remained under student control until after 1880. Sports and games remained entrenched as playground amusements in most schools and academies in the East. William Clarke summed up the place of the playground in the East during the nineteenth century.

> A playground is an emblem of the world;
> Its gamesome boys are men in miniature:
> The most important action of the man
> May find its parody 'mong childhood's sports:
> And life itself, when longest, happiest, -
> In boyhood's brief and jocund holiday. (69)

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# THE PLACE OF INTERSCHOLASTIC SPORT IN AMERICAN EDUCATION, 1920-1939

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A study of the place of interscholastic sport in American education from 1920-1939 reveals years of educational advancement spurred by public confidence and support and, antithetically, years of regression and loss of confidence in the educational philosophy and personnel of the schools. The Depression constituted the gap between these two extremes.

The period was an era of intellectual ferment as the theories and ideas of Albert Einstein, Max Planck, William Kilpatrick, Alfred North Whitehead, Sigmund Freud, John Dewey, H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, and Eugene O'Neill contributed to the arts and sciences. For most of the public, however, the most popular figures of the day were Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, Lon Chaney, Tom Mix, and the Barrymores who attained a fame rivalled only by Paul Whiteman, Harry Houdini, Will Rogers, or Charles Lindbergh. There was also Babe Ruth, Knute Rockne, Red Grange, Bill Tilden, Bobby Jones, Helen Wills, and Jack Dempsey.

There were, of course, such giant national figures as Henry Ford, Thomas A. Edison, Herbert Hoover, Alfred E. Smith, Clarence Darrow, Sinclair Lewis, H. L. Menken, and the notorious Legs Diamond and Al Capone. Entertainers, actors, musicians, aviators, and athletes were in the limelight. In a decade dedicated largely to escape and adventure, sport gained the publicity which made it one of America's foremost social institutions. Nonetheless, the contrast between the twenties and thirties prompted John Betts to entitle the chapter in his book dealing with these years "Fabulous and Tragic Years 1920-1935." (1)

## Education in the 1920s and 1930s

In the 1920s and 1930s vigorous attempts were made to provide national aid to education in the states. The extent of illiteracy, the problems of minority groups, the backwardness of education in rural areas, and the unwholesome conditions revealed by the army draft during World War I were pointed to as national educational liabilities. One in every six men examined during World War I was rejected as unfit for military service, making a total of more than 1.34 million who had physical deficiencies (most of which were preventable). These men were all under 32 years of age and supposedly in the prime of life. The census revealed 4¼ million illiterates, nearly 3 million of whom were native born. One man in every four could not write a letter home or read a newspaper in English. The menace of illiteracy, which resulted in immense economic waste, came to be considered a national problem to be met successfully only by national effort. Studies showed that the yearly economic loss through preventable deficiencies and death was nearly 2 billion; child labor continued to be a perplexing problem; many teachers in the United States had less training than was generally required of teachers by advanced nations; and scores of thousands of children between the ages of 7 and 13 were not attending school of any kind. (2)

The most conspicuous features of public education in the United States during the early and mid-twenties were its organization and administration. The amount of money expended annually to support schools was enormous but by no means out of proportion to the economic ability of the world's wealthiest nation. The phenomenal development of physical plants and equipment for schools had not been matched in all of educational history. Every year huge sums of money were spent in experimentation on curriculum construction and instruction materials; scores of millions were invested in the preparation, publication, manufacture and distribution of textbooks, which were naturally of vast commercial importance in a country with low standards for the preparation and reward of its teachers. It was within this emmense enterprise of public education, which bore so many mechanical and industrialized features, that some of its weaknesses appeared. (3)

Mass production and standardization became as characteristic of the American school as the American factory. Volume and velocity of output were almost as conspicuous in the realm of education as in the field of machine-made materials. Fads and spasms of experimentation were often reported as attempts to emancipate education from the threatening suffocation of forces of the machine industry. Education became increasingly standardized and mechanical, graded by years, by points, by credits, by majors, and by concerns. There were signs that American education tended to encourage a uniformity of mind and manners that made for superficiality and, as it became increasingly mechanical, more and more of the American people mistook its shadow for its substance. (4)

Notwithstanding its weaknesses, however, public education continued to hold the people's confidence. To understand the position of American education from 1920-1939, one has to be cognizant of the educational aspirations of the populace and the methods used to fulfill these aspirations. Education was to elevate the person and the family socially. Social aspiration was one reason for free, compulsory, bureaucratic, tax-supported education. (5) Probably no other theory or doctrine of democratic government had so much claimed for it. The constantly increasing economic well-being of the average American and the widespread material prosperity of the country at large were mostly due to the extension and application of this principle. Comparative statistics dealing with the increase in per capita wealth, bank resources, savings accounts and other evidence of ecnomic strength made a very impressive showing in three of the four decades prior to 1929. Public education then realized its most effective development.

Increasingly, average American citizens demanded for their community such agencies of enlightenment as libraries and museums. Perhaps the best evidence of the citizens' faith in education appears in their endeavors--and often in their sacrifices--for the support of schools and other cultural and civilizing agencies. These endeavors and sacrifices were impressive tributes to the people's belief in the effectiveness of public education. Indeed, they seemed to believe that it was a panacea for the ills and weaknesses inevitable in a democratic society. Even when the public school, like other theories or dreams of democracy, fell short in reality or practical application and failed to fulfill its promises to the masses for whom it was established, their faith remained robust. (6)

Underlying the idea of American education is a worthy philosophy. Its history is the story of struggles with selfishness and with mediocrity in management; always it has needed reform. While the schools provided people with opportunities they could not have had in equal measure by any other means, obstacles continued to obstruct their way, especially during the Depression.

Debts, deficits and the Depression were pointed to as the causes of the crisis that now faced education. The robust faith of a decade earlier was lost to the financial ills besetting every sector of the country. There had been a cry against alleged waste of public school funds, expensive and ornate school buildings, and fad and frills in the curriculum. The message from high political figures contained protests against such practices and recommendations for prompt, and in many cases, huge reductions in public schools expenditures. (7) Educators believed they were being punished by the public and looked upon the strange and sudden action against school support as a protest against some theories and practices which the public did not approve as either sound economics or sound education.

The plight of the schools became more impressive when the public discovered that their work was not lessened, but increased by the economic depression. The schools were called upon to instruct the children at a time when homes were crumbling and parents were anxious and distraught. There was fear that the schools themselves would be threatened with the same disillusion undermining the homes from which the children came. Those who clearly saw the danger urged that first consideration be given to the children's budget so that faith could be kept with the oncoming generation.

There was no effort to disguise the fact that education was not only on the defensive but heavily under fire. School administrators knew that their salaries and the salaries of their teachers as well as those of other public servants were easy targets for economy sharpshooters. The darkest hour for education in the United States occurred 1930-1935. During this period Commissioner George F. Zook of the U. S. Office of Education said, "We find ourselves in the grip of a social difficulty from which we shall extricate ourselves only with the greatest effort and pain." (8) The closing of schools because of the lack of funds deprived 100,000 additional children of educational opportunity in the autumn of 1933. Altogether about 2.28 million children of school age were not in school. About 200 rural schools in 24 states had failed to open although few, if any, city public schools had been closed. Many private and parochial schools closed. One-fourth of the cities shortened their school terms, and more than 700 rural schools were expected to run not more than three months during the year. The terms in practically every great American city were one to two months shorter than they had been 75 years before. One out of every four teachers was receiving less than $750 a year; about 40,000 rural teachers would receive less than $450 each in 1933-35. One out of every 13 black teachers was receiving $25 per month or less. Reports from 700 typical cities of the country showed that many, if not most of them, had reduced or eliminated art, music, physical education, home economics, industrial arts, and health services. (9)

The report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education disclosed some startling conditions in the wealthiest country in the world (despite the Depression) and in a democracy whose educational achievements quantitatively exceeded those of any other country in any period of the world's history. No other people in any period or place has ever undertaken to do as much in the name of education as the United States. Nor has any democracy held out so much hope to its people. No country on earth ever has more enthusiastically or more frequently declared its devotion to universal free public education. (10)

A letter from W. John Cooper, Secretary of Interior, 1933, stated:

> Within a period of 30 years, the high school enrollment has increased from a little over 10 percent of the population of high school age to more than 50 percent of that population. This enrollment is so unusual for a secondary school that it has attracted the attention of Europe, where only 8 to 10 percent attend secondary schools. Many European educators have said that we are educating too many people. I believe, however, that the people of the U. S. are now getting a new conception of education. They are coming to look upon education as a preparation for citizenship and for daily life rather than for the money return that comes from it. They are looking upon a high school as a place for their boys and girls to profit at a period when they are not yet acceptable to industry. (11)

## Interscholastic Sports

John Betts wrote of the early twenties that sport swept the country and at times seemed to be the most engrossing of all contemporary interests. People from every walk of life pondered the issues of Prohibition and the League of Nations and speculated on the endless spiral of business prosperity; millions spent time tinkering with the family car, flocking to the movies, loafing at the club, fiddling with the radio receiver, or going to ball games. (12)

Yet interscholastic athletics, while they did exist prior to 1923, existed in an unorganized fashion. In 1923 the National Federation of High School Athletic Association (NFHSAA) was established to permit representatives of secondary schools to cooperate in the development of sports rules, to standardize rules of eligibility for interstate and national competition, and to encourage a working relationship with other amateur athletic associations. This major step gave the needed structural foundation for the sport explosion some two decades later. Shortly after this unifying act of 1923, the National Association of Secondary School Principals endorsed the NFHSAA as the agency to represent high school athletics on the interstate and national scope. (13)

A study undertaken in 1924 by J. F. Landis puts in perspective the place of high school athletics in the twenties--excluding 1929. The Landis study, which included 209 secondary schools in 23 states, reveals that many high schools did not include physical education in their curriculum because they lacked a gymnasium. But despite the lack of school facilities, there was a growing popularity of high school sport. Students played in public facilities or shared facilities with several other high schools. Some never had a home game for lack of a home court or field. Nevertheless, Landis found in the same 209 schools that 138 of them competed in baseball, 151 in basketball, 62 in soccer, 60 in football, 57 in swimming, 13 in track and field, and 10 in tennis. (14)

In 1932 P. Roy Brammell undertook a survey of 760 high schools across the country with 327 schools (43 percent) responding. Brammel found that the high school sports that were rated highest in participants were basketball, golf, tennis, swimming, track and field, and baseball. The most popular sport for girls was basketball. Other sports popular among girls were volleyball, track and field and, to a lesser extent, tennis. In 90 percent of the schools responding the director of physical education and the coach were the same person. The report indicated that the junior high school sport program was mainly on an intramural basis with a large number of sports available for competition to provide a wider base of activity. The survey also revealed that while some schools attempted junior high school interscholastic sports, criticism from educational leaders, medical authorities, and physical educators caused an adverse effect on such programs. (15)

In the early and mid-twenties in New York State, the financing of interscholastic sport was done in a variety of ways. The most common policy was that school boards would attempt to provide athletic field facilities and gymnasiums and more permanent forms of equipment out of funds derived from local tax levies. The survey of Brammell shows the following sources of income. (16)

| | Frequency |
|---|---|
| Board of education | 32 |
| Ticket sales | 276 |
| Pool of funds derived from all extracurricular activities | 65 |
| Donations | 5 |
| Athletic association membership fees | 14 |
| Student council, student union, and student body fees | 12 |
| Plays, entertainments, and special efforts | 16 |
| General organization dues | 2 |
| Assessing home rooms | 1 |
| Department of physical education | 1 |
| Profits from magazine subscriptions | 1 |
| Candy sales | 1 |

Brammell pointed out that it wasn't surprising that high schools devoted so much time and attention to the development of winning athletic teams to encourage game attendance since the total sport program depended on gate receipts for most of its financing. While the cost of a program had always been a factor in the success of having such a program, during the thirties money became the limiting factor.

The emphasis on finance was not the only place that Brammell's study gave some insight to the "place" of sport in the mid-thirties. Regular coaches were employed to coach teams in interscholastic sports in 223 of the 327 schools included in his study. In 47 schools and 20 percent of the four-year high schools, the success of the coach was said to be judged on the basis of his ability to develop winning teams. (17) Twenty-four percent of the schools having enrollments of 300 or fewer students rated the coach on this basis, whereas only seven percent of the schools having enrollments of more than 300 used this criteria to measure success. Clearly small schools generally expected more of a coach in the way of victories in interscholastic contests than larger schools. (18)

The "place" of the coach in the teaching hierarchy gives some indication as to the "place" of sport on the high school level. The Brammell study reported that in only 7 percent of the schools were the coaches rated by a superior or other faculty members as teachers of regular classroom subjects. In 50 percent of the schools the coaches received higher salaries than other faculty members. Thus, in many of the schools, coaching ability (even though it may not be accompanied by average teaching ability) commanded a higher-than-average salary. (19)

In most states the coaches of interscholastic sports were required to be regular members of the high school faculty. One principal indicated "at present all interscholastic teams are coached by a high school instructor who was at one time a college athlete." (20) The principal emphasized that the coaching was better, many more boys turned out for the teams, better teams were developed, and the community was much more satisfied. This shift from special coaches to educationally prepared coaches became the drive of many state boards of education. In Ohio the upgrading of coaching requirements paralleled the teaching requirements for both men and women.

1. Full-time teachers of physical education (including athletic coaches) engaged in high schools after 1930 are required by the State Department of Education to have a special professional certificate issued by the Department of Education. Credits for this certificate must show a minimum of 40 hours (semester) in health and physical education earned in an accredited institution.

2. Part-time teachers of health and physical education (including part-time coaches) engaged after 1930 must have health and physical education written in on their professional certificates as a minor. This minor must be earned in an accredited training college and must consist of at least 16 hours in health and physical education.

3. All teachers of physical education in service prior to 1930 must have the appropriate certification on or before 1935 in order to have their secondary-school program of physical education recognized by the State Department of Education. (21)

According to Brammell's national survey, most authorities in the field of physical education and athletics agreed that a school's program of interscholastic athletics should constitute only a part of a large program of health and physical education. Many of the teachers polled indicated that if activities did not fit appropriately into a general program of health building and recreation, they should be made to do so or be thrown out altogether. (22) Ideally team membership came as an outgrowth of work in physical education and represented to all concerned that athletes who competed for their school were properly trained, correctly conditioned, and qualified through medical examination for strenuous activity.

This aim in many schools--to dovetail physical education and interscholastic athletics--brought back the question of whether athletic coaches should be trained in physical education. The judgments of principals, physical directors and coaches differed. Some felt that the ideal coach and director of physical education could not be combined in one individual. Others felt that if the goals of health, development and recreation were to be attained, those who understood these goals and how they were to be reached, must be kept consistently in charge of all physical activities within the school. Even physical directors who were also coaches of interscholastic teams sometimes found it difficult to remain impartial to the teams. For example, a physical director and coach in a Texas high school confessed that although he was the director of physical education, his first love had become competitive interschool games. He admitted that because of a slackened interest in physical education, his work in that field had suffered. Surely if persons such as this found it difficult to keep uppermost the ideal of the greatest good for the greatest number, it is not surprising that in many secondary schools, in which the coaches had no training in physical education, the aims and methods of interscholastic athletics and physical education were far apart. (23)

Some communities gave a great deal of attention to and spent large sums of money providing the secondary schools with facilities and equipment for interscholastic athletics. In some cases splendid new fields, gymnasiums and stadiums were provided. At some of these schools no thought seemed to be given to the possibility of making these facilities serve both interscholastic athletics and physical education. For example, sometimes playfields, new gymnasiums or stadiums were located too far from the school building to be of any use to physical education classes. Furthermore, the structures were equippped for only interscholastic sports, and dressing rooms, showers, lockers, etc. were built to accommodate only small groups. In some cases, space for an athletic plant was not available near the school building while in other cases, the plant seemed purposely to have been located at a distance. As a result, it was in use during the afternoons of short playing seasons instead of being in use all day and each day of the school year.

An example of the way in which interscholastic athletics and physical education were related to each other and administered together can be seen in the case of the high schools of Buffalo, New York. Six rules of administration were given:

a. The department of physical education shall have general administrative control of high-school athletics.

b. The management of high-school athletics shall be vested in an athletic advisory council.

c. The athletic advisory council shall consist of the supervisor of physical education, the director of high-school physical education, and the head of the physical education department in each public high school.

d. The regular meetings of the athletic advisory council shall be held the first Thursday in September, December, March, and June. Special meetings may be called by the director of high-school physical education as necessity may demand. The annual meeting shall be held in June on Thursday and Friday of "B" examination week.

e. The director of high-school physical education shall be the chairman of the athletic advisory council and shall keep a concise record of all interschool athletic contests.

f. The athletic advisory council shall determine and enforce the rules governing interschool competition, formulate rules governing the eligibility of players, and arrange schedules of games, these rules and schedules to be ratified by the high-school principals and the superintendent of schools before becoming effective, and shall be in control of all financial dealings in connection with high-school athletics. (24)

Not many schools in the thirties displayed balance and coordination between their physical education, intramurals, health, and interscholastic sports. There were only two schools out of 327 surveyed in the mid-1930s that had developed a thoroughly cooperative program, Thomas Jefferson Senior High School in Brooklyn, New York and Parker Junior-Senior High School in Greenville, South Carolina.

The place of interscholastic sport in American education was summarized by Harry A. Scott, then of the Rice Institute (Houston, Texas).

> In my opinion the secondary-school physical education program should provide the opportunity for every physically normal student to receive instruction in both recreative and vigorous competitive team games and, in addition, to be encouraged to participate in, through the medium of clubs or outside organizations, the natural sports of hunting, fishing, hiking, camping, and the like. Students not physically normal, in addition to their individual corrective physical education programs, should likewise receive instruction in, and be encouraged to engage in, the activities of the normal program up to the limits set by their organic or physical condition.
>
> Stated specifically, if all students, after their interest and capacities have been determined, are provided with the necessary facilities, and given proper instruction in such typical activities as swimming, golf, handball, tennis, football, basketball, baseball, boxing, wrestling, camping, fishing, hunting, and hiking, their needs will have been satisfied both for present living and for life outside the school.
>
> Such a program of physical education as indicated above may be conducted for all students by means of required physical education programs, intramural contests, interscholastic athletics, after-school recreational programs, and recreation clubs of various kinds. (25)

Few secondary schools were doing all that could be done to provide a comprehensive physical education program for all students. It was not so much a matter of school finances, lack of administrative support and other well-known excuses, but rather a lack of proper training and perspective on the part of teachers and physical education supervisors. Proper administrative and financial support would come only after the worth of the program had been demonstrated.

Interscholastic competition was confined mainly to a few sports, most of which had no recognized carryover value. The sports in which most pupils participated were not necessarily the sports having long-playing seasons. The number of pupils practicing the interscholastic contests in certain sports was small compared with the number engaging in intramural activities in the same sports. About two-thirds of the pupils who practiced for interscholastic contests actually participated in them. The schools in Brammell's study participated freely in tournaments and meets of various types. However, tournaments to determine national and state championships were objected to strenuously; thus tournaments involving smaller competing areas were organized.

The type of association to which the schools belonged was most frequently the state high school athletic associations. These associations, which were strong in most states, had regulations pertaining to such items as the limitation of student participation, scholarship standards to which pupils had to attain before they could compete in interscholastic contests, and the like. In a few states the state department of education had direct control over the interscholastic athletic activities of all schools in the state. In numerous states there was close cooperation between the state department of education and the state high schools athletic association. (26)

The objection to interscholastic athletics for girls was directed toward certain sports, not toward interscholastic contests in general. Often schools employed a point system whereby girls could earn athletic awards. The season culminated in one or more play days in which several schools participated. (27)

In many schools the amount of money taken in and expended for athletic purposes was large. The fact that interscholastic athletics was usually called on to be self-supporting and to support other activities in the school created the danger of overemphasis on the development of winning teams. There was a growing feeling that each sport should be judged for its educational value. If the admission fee to those educationally sound contests was insufficient to meet expenses, many thought that a subsidy should be provided by the board of education. (28)

The desirability of friendly relationships between members of competing teams, schools and communities was recognized everywhere. The importance of proper leadership in developing desirable character traits was recognized. For example, the handbook of the Michigan High School Athletic Association contains a list of 16 ways in which high school students can practice good sportsmanship and bring about desirable relationships with other schools. In part, this section of the handbook reads as follows:

> High-school students should set a good example in the matter of sportsmanship and should quickly condemn unsportsmanlike conduct on the part of either other students or adults. To this end they should--
>
> Remember that a student spectator represents his school the same as does the athlete.
>
> Recognize that the good name of the school is more valuable than any game won by unfair play.
>
> Accept decisions of officials without question.
>
> Recognize and applaud an exhibition of fine play or good sportsmanship on the part of the visiting team.
>
> Insist on the courteous treatment of the visiting team as it passes through the streets or visits the local school building, and extend the members every possible courtesy.
>
> Acquaint the adults of the community and the grade pupils with the ideals of sportsmanship that are acceptable to the high school.
>
> Advocate that any spectator who continually evidences poor sportsmanship be requested not to attend future contests.
>
> Insist on fair, courteous, and truthful accounts of athletic contests in local and school papers.
>
> Encourage the full discussion of fair play, sportsmanship, and school spirit through class work and auditorium programs in order to discover ways by which students and schools can develop and demonstrate good sportsmanship. (29)

In a list of 28 problems, the one most troublesome to most schools was that too few pupils benefited from interscholastic sport programs. The problem ranking second was the tendency of the community to rate the success of the school in terms of athletic success. Special attention was given to the physical hazards of contestants and the offering of inducements to high school athletes by private individuals, alumni, businessmen or other persons interested in certain higher institutions. (30)

In summary, this study has focused on the place of interscholastic sport during the twenties and thirties. The prosperous twenties allowed educational reforms to free physical education and sport from its formal heritage of the nineteenth century. The chaotic thirties created an environment in which all aspects of education, and sport in particular, were held accountable.

## FOOTNOTES

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4. Knight, 569.
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6. Knight, *Education in the United States*, 571.
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14. J. F. Landis, A study of physical education in the junior high school and intermediate school, *American Physical Education Review* 29 (May 1924), 260-274.
15. Brammell, *Intramural and Interscholastic Athletics*, 100.
16. Brammell, 82.
17. Brammell, 99.
18. Ibid.
19. Brammell, 100.
20. Brammell, 101.
21. Brammell, 103.

22. Brammell, 102.

23. Brammell, 105.

24. Brammell, 106-107.

25. Brammell, 109.

26. Brammell, 140.

27. Brammell, 141.

28. Brammell, 142.

29. Brammell, 114.

30. Brammell, 142.

## REACTION TO

## "THE PLACE OF INTERSCHOLASTIC SPORT IN AMERICAN EDUCATION, 1920-1939"

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Paul Mills' broad, lucid profile of the development of interscholastic athletics in this country from 1920-1939 and his humanistic presentation of the economic, social and educational problems of these years certainly provide a better understanding of the factors which influenced American education.

As a "reactor," I have the opportunity to furnish observations and parallels. Title IX seems to be the byword of the 1970s. Yet, the research/attitudes of the post World War I-1920s period was represented by articles such as:

- "The Right Kind of Athletics for Girls" (Somers, 1916). (1)
- "A Plan of Athletics and Honors for High School Girls" (Germantown High School) (Cressman, 1917). (2)
- "Safeguarding the Athletic Competition of Girls and Women" (Burdick, 1927). (3)
- "A Point System for Girls' Athletics in the Oregon High School" (Waterman, 1927). (4)
- "Girls' Athletics in High School" (Jones, 1927). (5)
- "Age, Height, Weight and Pubescence Standards for Athletic Handicapping of Girls" (Delaney, 1928). (6)

In this era, "the play day, a day of sports for girls, made its debut at the University of Washington High School under the direction of Mary Gross Hutchinson in 1925." (7) This concept, started in high school, gradually spread to the college level; Helen Smith and Helen Cooper held the first college play day in 1928 at the University of Cincinnati. Even the 1931 Carnegie report affirmed that, at a time when some sports were being eliminated, play days were increasing in number, "especially at state-controlled universities and at schools." (8)

The 1923 formation of the National Federation of High School Athletic Associations (NFHSAA) resulted in rapid organization of boards and committees to administer varsity and intramural programs. Eligibility standards were devised to safeguard schools and participants. Schwendener wrote, "since 1926 such standards have become rules in every sense of the word." (9) In 1922 DeLaporte reported on "The Administration and Control of Athletics in the Public Schools of Chicago." (10) In 1923, D. Chase, the New York State Director of Physical Education, discussed "Athletic Administration in Public Schools." (11) In 1924, Curtis detailed Missouri's program principles in "Athletics in the School Program." (12) The Athletic Journal and the American Physical Education Review of the late twenties regularly carried articles describing the growth and activities of the state high school athletic associations. Henderson (1926) wrote favorably on statewide tourneys designed to "channel boys' and girls' interests." (13) By the end of the twenties, Frederick Rand Rogers in New York wrote "State Championships Abolished" (14) and "Returning the Game to the Original Owners." (15) Blanchard (1929) in the American Physical Education Review presented, "The Argument for the Continuance of Detroit's Policy of Non-Adult Interference at Athletic Contests." His data claimed that 70 percent of coaches and 75 percent of players in football favored non-adult interference. (16)

In 1929, Emmett Rice recalled that a statewide annual basketball tournament had started in Indiana in 1911 and had been held yearly since. The 1924 tourney had 719 teams and 5,752 boys participating. Rice noted that in 1929 all states except three had statewide organizations for high school athletics. (17) Interscholastic sports were visible.

Parallel in time, Bobby Jones in 1930 had won 13 straight national championships since 1923. Sonja Henie won her first Olympic Gold in 1928 at age 14 and would win again in 1932 and 1936. Babe Didrickson starred in the 1932 Olympics. The 1932 Winter Olympics at Lake Placid sparked interest in downhill and slalom skiing in this country. Joe Louis was starting to achieve fame in 1934, followed by Henry Armstrong who won his first featherweight title in 1937. Golfer Lawson Little in 1935 completed a string of 31 consecutive wins in championship play. Ned Irish introduced Naismith's game into Madison Square Garden in 1934, and the NIT began in 1938. James Clevelend Owens left his mark on the 1936 Olympics. Don Budge starred at Wimbledon in 1937. The same year, Byron Nelson won the Masters, and the newest golf sensation was young Sam Snead. Finally, representative of the role of sport in America of the era, Cooperstown's Baseball Hall of Fame opened on June 12, 1939. (18)

In the excellent Quest monograph, "Sport in America," Harold Vanderzwaag stated in 1977:

> the heart of American sport is not only ball games but, more specifically, team ball games. Perhaps it is time that we pause to reflect on the tradition of American sport. I suggest that it is a tradition which is deeply rooted in ball games of various sorts . . . I for one am in favor of preserving the best in that part of America's sporting heritage. (19)

Dr. Mills cited the application in the 1920s of mass production and standardization to the character of American schools - the factory-like symbolism of the times. I recently heard a graduate student at a curriculum committee say forcefully, "I resent being referred to as a product, a thing to be sold in the marketplace. In this dehumanizing necessary?" How far we have progressed in 50 years.

Dr. Mills also quoted John Cooper, who wrote in 1933 about the European belief that too many Americans were being educated. What a curious paradox when we consider the influence on American education exerted by the European ideas of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, von Fellenberg, etc.

The ideals and hopes of the twenties and thirties for upgrading interscholastic athletics and the quality of teaching-coaching were illustrated in Mills' example of the use of an advisory council in Buffalo, the role of salaries of high school coaches in North Carolina, the aim of sports set forth in Brammel's national survey, and the coaching requirements in Ohio. An interesting parallel here is the era we now seem to be entering in which, in some places at least, nearly anyone can coach. For example, at a large midwest high school with over 30 coaches on the staff, 11 are not members of the faculty. Are we cyclical or cynical? Do the financial headaches of the seventies parallel those of the early thirties?

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3. William Burdick, Safeguarding the athletic competition of girls and women, American Physical Education Review (May 1927).

4. E. F. Waterman, A point system for girls' athletics in the Oregon high schools, American Physical Education Review (May 1927).

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# INTERCOLLEGIATE SPORT

# HUEY LONG: A STORY OF SPORT, EDUCATION, AND POLITICS AT LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

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> Stand back! This is the Kingfish! I didn't have much to do with the first seventy years of this heah institution /Louisiana State University/ but I've had a lot to do with the last five years, and I'll put my five up against all the other seventy. And jes' wait a few more years and you'll see what I'll do then. (1)

> Now you edicated folk think you can get along without politicians.... But who's been gittin' money over heah an' spendin' it somewhere else? I'll tell you this about the politician, and they are all pretty bad--if he's a thief, make him steal for the schools, he cain't do much harm then. And I want to tell you, we've just started to upbuild Louisiana edication. Edication comes first in Louisiana. We never economize on schools. We gotta see that a teacher gets as much as a slot-machine man. (2)

## Long and Politics

Huey Pierce Long was born in 1893 and died 42 years later on September 10, 1935 from an assassin's bullet. Who was this man? How could he in a democratic society become a serious candidate for the presidency of the United States? Why is he an appropriate subject for physical educators?

Huey Long's birthplace was in Winnfield Parish amid the piney woods of northern Louisiana. He was the eighth of 10 children born to a land-owning farmer and ambitious, religious mother, Caledonia Tyson Long. At the time of the Civil War the delegate from Winnfield Parish voted against secession from the Union. The attitude of many parish residents was expressed in the words of one man who declared: "I'll lie in the woods till the moss grows over my back before I fight for the other man's niggers." (3) Few blacks lived in Winnfield Parish at that time, and throughout the Confederacy owners with 10 or more slaves were legally exempted from conscription in the Confederate Army. Thus some Winnfield men refused to fight for the South, and some even enlisted in the Union Army.

After graduation from high school, Long was offered a scholarship to study law at Louisiana State University (LSU), but he still did not have enough money to go. So he became a traveling salesman, managing to eke out one semester at the University of Oklahoma Law School. Soon after marriage, he went to Tulane University Law School for eight months until his money gave out before the end of the term. Using all his talents of persuasion, Long got the Chief Justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court to arrange a special bar examination for him. Thus on May 15, 1915, at the age of 21, Huey Long became a lawyer.

He entered politics in 1918 and won election as a railroad commissioner. Long began to attract public attention on this commission which later became the Public Service Commission. He was instrumental in obtaining a million dollar annual reduction in telephone rates and a refund of $467,000 to subscribers. (4) He stopped an effort to raise streetcar fares in Shreveport and challenged Standard Oil by seeking a higher severance tax. In 1924 Long was reelected to the commission and also ran for governor. (He campaigned against the public utilities although he accepted a campaign contribution of $10,000 from the Southwestern Gas and Electric Company.) (5) However, he was defeated because his political strength in the rural areas did not offset his losses in New Orleans and the French Catholic parishes of southern Louisiana.

Long took steps to remedy this political disadvantage in 1926. Edwin S. Broussard, a French Creole Catholic, ran for the Senate on a wet, repeal of Prohibition platform. His opponent was a Protestant standing on a dry platform. And which one do you suppose received the active and vigorous support of Huey Long, the Baptist from the dry north country? It was Broussard who won the election and Long won the political allegiance of many Catholic voters. Two years later Long was elected governor.

His first two years as governor were hectic, and he narrowly avoided impeachment. But he pushed through a law providing free textbooks to every child in the state. He evaded the constitutional issue of giving state aid to parochial schools by issuing the books to the children, not to the school, and he proved his legal brilliance by defending this law before the Supreme Court of the United States. (6) Long established a $30 million fund to pave Louisiana's highways and to build free bridges. He also got $5 million for a new state capitol building and began an ambitious program to develop LSU.

Long's political ambitions received a further boost when he was elected to the U. S. Senate in 1930. However, he did not take his seat in Washington until 17 months later because he did not want to have the remainder of his term as governor served by the lieutenant-governor, a bitter political foe.

On the national scene, Long worked for the nomination and election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932, but he soon fell out over economic proposals. Long formulated a Share the Wealth program for the whole country which called for a homestead allowance of $6,000 and a minimum annual income of $2,500 for every family. He also proposed a high school education for every child and a college education for all who could pass an intelligence test. In August 1935 he announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. (7)

Meanwhile, in his home state, Long used his political power to the maximum to take over absolute control and establish a virtual dictatorship. In a series of special sessions in 1934-35, the state legislature quickly passed a series of laws proposed by Long, often without even reading them or knowing the contents. The result was that Long got undisputed control of the election machinery, the judiciary, and tax-assessing bodies. A secret police was established and Long got full control of the militia and the power to use it in any way at any time. He received the authority to appoint every policeman, fireman and teacher in the entire state. He acquired a power over a state which has never been duplicated in the history of our country. He was truly the Kingfish.

At this moment of power in Louisiana and as a prominent figure on the national scene, Huey Long returned from Washington in September 1935 to supervise another special session of the Louisiana legislature. As he walked through the beautiful new state capitol building which he had built, his bodyguards were unable to prevent Dr. Carl Austin Weiss from stepping out from behind a pillar and firing a bullet into the body of Senator Long. Weiss was instantly killed by a fusillade of shots and Long himself died 30 hours later.

The Long regime was carried on for five more years by his associates but in 1940 it was smashed to pieces by federal action against the corruption and scandal. Two hundred fifty indictments were brought against the governor, the president of LSU, legislative officials, mayors, the president of the state medical society, prominent contractors, and many others. This dismal finale, in the opinion of Kane, ended the hopes of some Huey followers that Long would be a martyr. (8)

## Long and Education

Louisiana State University opened at Alexandria in January 1860 as Louisiana State Seminary with William T. Sherman as the first president. It was mainly a military college. When the Civil War broke out, Sherman, a West Point graduate, resigned his position and eventually became a general in the Union Army. The school was moved to Baton Rouge in 1869 after a fire. The military emphasis continued and until 1896 the president was always a former Confederate soldier. In the 1930s LSU had one of the largest ROTC units of any university in the country, and dress parades were a common occurrence. However, in other respects the university was in the doldrums. It had only 1,600 students in 1928 and ranked 88th in size among universities for the country. The operating budget was $800,000 and among the 168 faculty members only a few were distinguished scholars. Williams believed that the Louisianan and typical Southern attitude toward education was "resigned." They had some pride in their universities and colleges but realized that they were not very good. The South still suffered psychological trauma from the Civil War, it was economically depressed, and it could not aspire to hold a first rank in the country. (9)

After his election as governor in 1928, Long ignored the university for two years because he was busy warding off the impeachment threat and was involved in his campaign for the Senate, along with other matters. But in 1930 the university drew Huey's attention when a law student, K. K. Kennedy, edited a libelous journal on campus with shady stories and juicy gossip about the faculty. Kennedy was sentenced to a year in jail and was prohibited from taking his law examinations for graduation. Huey was irate because Kennedy was a Long disciple and the prosecuting attorney was an opponent of Long. Within a week, Kennedy was granted a pardon by the governor and later received his degree. Thus when LSU President Atkinson resigned because of ill health during Kennedy's trial, Long took an active part in selecting a successor.

Long's choice for a new president was 42-year-old James Monroe Smith who held a Ph.D. degree in college administration from Columbia University. In his five-year association with Long he was often humiliated and verbally abused by the impetuous Kingfish, but he was willing to compromise for the benefit of the university. He realized that nothing could be done without considering the political implications for Huey Long. A good example of this was Smith's success in securing dormitories for women. LSU first admitted women students in 1900, but they were treated indifferently. On one occasion Huey told Smith that he thought of LSU as primarily a men's school. Smith disagreed but kept his mouth shut. Ten days later Smith talked with Long about the value of giving these future voters an education they could remember with satisfaction by increasing coed facilities. This approach struck home and Huey exclaimed, "Damned if I don't believe you're right." He told Smith to build some dormitories, and Long got the money for them. (10) On another occasion when Long wanted to enlarge the marching band, Smith knew that, whatever his personal feelings, this would mean millions of dollars for the university.

In April 1935, LSU observed its 75th anniversary with a gala Diamond Jubilee celebration. Rorty called it "the biggest educational show on earth" and invitations were sent to people all over the country: scholars, scientists, poets, social workers, college presidents, and many others. (11) One college president, Ralph C. Hutchinson of Washington and Jefferson, refused to attend because "we should hesitate to lend our support at just this time when the high purposes of the university seem, at a distance, to have been subordinated to the political objective of Mr. Huey Long." (12) The Diamond Jubilee program was headed by speakers Glenn Franks, president of the University of Wisconsin, and the liberal professor from Columbia University, George B. Counts. There was a conference on French language and civilization (most appropriate for a state like Louisiana) and the cornerstone was laid for La Maison Francaise, a new home for the Department of Romance Languages. Additional highlights were a formal review of the cadet corps on the parade ground and a concert by the cadet band. (13)

Long and Smith could view this occasion with justifiable pride. Few people realized that Long was serious about building up the university as a whole. Enrollment had jumped to over 5,000 students. It was now 20th in size among universities. Many of the 395 faculty members were nationally recognized scholars recruited from all over the country. Operating expenditures were up to $3 million, and no faculty member suffered any cut in salary during these darkest years of the Depression.

A major part of the university's progress was the founding of a medical school in New Orleans. This is a remarkable story in itself. Late in 1930 Long decided to have a medical school at LSU. There was only one other medical school in Louisiana, at Tulane. On January 3, 1931 his board voted to create the school and just nine months later classes began in the new facilities. (14)

Another notable factor was the establishment of a graduate school in 1931 under the energetic leadership of 32-year-old Dean Charles W. Pipkin, who was dedicated to the principle of the "redemption of the South through education." He established the first doctoral program at LSU and the first doctorates were granted in 1935. By 1939 LSU had awarded more doctorates than any other southern university except North Carolina and Duke. (15) LSU established a respected university press and began publishing The Southern Review, a literary journal in 1935. Both the press and the Review have continued to the present day.

Long provided $9 million for building and facilities and gave President Smith the green light to go ahead with construction. The first structures to be erected were a music and dramatic arts building with 80 grand pianos to which Huey happily invited skeptics to count; a fine arts building where the sculptor, Duncan Ferguson, used nude models in mixed classes; extensive dormitories for women; and a large student center, the Huey P. Long Fieldhouse. The expanding enrollment created a housing shortage which Huey economically solved by building rooms for freshmen and sophomores in the empty area underneath the seats of the football stadium. Four students were crowded into a small room with two double-decker beds. Someone remarked that LSU had a stadium that seated 45,000 and slept 2,500!

The Commandant, Major Troy H. Middleton, drew up plans for a $75,000 outdoor swimming pool and showed them to Long. Huey brushed them aside and sketched out a design which would cost $500,000 and placed it next to the fieldhouse. As the pool neared completion, Long visited the site and was told that it was the second largest pool in the country. He immediately ordered the construction foreman to make it 10 yards longer so that it would be the largest. Thus the pool's demensions became 180 feet long and 48 feet wide. (16) Long provided a golf course for his students by the simple expedient of buying a country club near the campus. (17) A gymnasium was added to the physical education facilities and the seating capacity of the football stadium was increased.

The university was open to any high school graduate and tuition was extremely low. According to Kane, Huey gave jobs to many students as a matter of political patronage and not on a basis of scholarship or need. (18) Beals charged in 1935 that 3,000 students had jobs either with the university or the state. (19)

By 1935 LSU had the largest and finest physical plant of any university in the South. This was done in a five-year span, embracing the worst years of the Depression when most universities were in a grim battle just to hold on and maintain the status quo. Elsewhere in the country budgets were cut, faculty salaries reduced, and plans for new buildings and programs shelved. This makes Long's achievements all the more remarkable and commendable.

Many critics of Long charged that academic freedom at LSU had gone by the boards and that the university was subservient to Long's political machinations. However, several authors refuted these claims. T. Harry Williams, whose comprehensive biography of Long received a Pulitzer Prize, felt that Huey had no concern over what was taught in the classroom and that he did not interfere with the operation of the university. He did not dictate academic appointments but once in a while asked President Smith to make an appointment in the business office or to grant a graduate assistantship. Administrators felt less political pressure from Long than either before or after his tenure. However, Long would not tolerate any public criticism. (20) Wharton, too, felt that Long did not suppress academic opinion as long as he was not unfavorably discussed. (21) A high degree of academic freedom existed, in Sindler's opinion, although it was dependent upon Long's good humor. (22) However, on one occasion when the student newspaper criticized Long and publication was suspended, Huey bluntly declared: "I like students, but this State is puttin up the money for that college and I ain't payin' nobody to criticize me." (23)

Thus by 1935 Huey Long had developed national recognition and considerable academic respect for his university. Its accreditation rating had jumped from C to A. The most important result perceived by Williams was "a growing pride in LSU by people connected with it and by the public, a conviction on everybody's part that it would continue to progress." (24)

After Huey's death, Smith continued as president but his term ended in complete disgrace in 1939 when he resigned and disappeared over charges that he had embezzled half a million dollars of public funds. He eventually returned to be tried and convicted and was sentenced to 30 months in jail.

## Long and Athletics

At the time of the Kennedy affair in 1930 (page 52), Long also began to notice the football team. "I don't fool around with losers," he said. "LSU can't have a losing team because that'll mean I'm associated with a loser." (25) Huey came out to watch the team practice for the first time before the Tulane game in November 1930. He observed a player kicking extra points and, peeling off his coat, said he would like to try. His two efforts resulted in the ball dribbling a few feet along the ground. "I guess I'm a little off today," he explained. (26) Huey then asked to speak to the team and learned that Tulane's star halfback was a player named Zimmerman. Long had a brilliant and direct solution to this problem. "What's the matter with us getting him for that game. I'll give his dad a job with the state and get him up here and we'll put the boy in at LSU." After being told that this was illegal, Huey growled, "That's a hell of a rule." (27)

At the start of the game itself, Huey ran out on the field from the dressing room with the team, wearing a hugh LSU badge of purple and gold. He spent the first three periods roaming up and down the LSU sidelines and finally for the fourth quarter sat in the governor's box on the Tulane side of the field. Although LSU lost the game, the team played well and Huey initiated a series of moves to build up football. He raised the salary of the coach, Russ Cohen, to $7,500, probably the highest in the South; the budget for the athletic department was increased; the coaching staff was enlarged; a graduate manager (athletic director) was appointed; and systematic recruiting was begun.

In mid-August before the 1931 football season, an article in the New York Times told about Long's plans to take the LSU student body in five special trains to West Point for the game with Army on November 7. The State of Louisiana would be without a governor for eight days because Huey was going to take the lieutenant-governor and all his legal successors with him to prevent them from taking over in his absence. The governor's train would be the last to leave and the first to return. "We are all going to take a week off to see Louisiana play the Army," Long proudly proclaimed. "Louisiana takes the old war skule to West Point." (28) But at a meeting of the student body on campus in September, Long revealed that the West Point excursion had been cancelled because the lieutenant-governor, Paul Cyr, would not go. Therefore Huey would not go and leave his political antagonist running the state. (29)

Throughout the 1931 season Long was a dedicated fan. He talked to the team before the game and between halves. He made up plays which he gave to the coaches, but fortunately he was not well enough versed in football to know that they were not used. Before the Mississippi State game, Cohen's dull pre-game speech was suddenly interrupted by a loud voice outside the door. "Here comes the best damn football player in America." The door was pushed open and in charged Huey attired in a purple letter sweater and swinging a cane. He inspired the players with "They ain't got a thing, you ought to beat them 40 to 0." (30) Huey's prediction was pretty accurate as LSU won 31 to 0.

Coach Cohen lost his job after a humiliating defeat by Tulane in the season finale and was succeeded by Capt. Lawrence M. (Biff) Jones, an army captain assigned by the War Department to LSU as a professor of military science and tactics. This appointment required the personal approval of the chief of staff who was then General Douglas MacArthur. Jones stipulated that LSU's No. 1 fan was to stay out of the dressing room and off the field. He did yield to Huey's request to sit on the end of the bench outside the 35-yard line. Huey observed this limitation and did not invade the locker room.

The football team had good seasons in 1932 and 1933 under Coach Jones and football fever swept the campus as the 1934 season approached. However, ticket sales for the opening game lagged below expectations. Huey looked into the matter and found that the Ringling Brothers Circus was playing in Baton Rouge the same afternoon. He called the owner of the circus and asked him to change the date. When he refused, Long threatened to use a little-known animal dipping law which required a three-week quarantine after dipping. "Have you ever dipped a tiger or an elephant?" asked Huey. The date was changed.

Huey Long's biggest extravaganza involved the game with Vanderbilt, and the resulting national publicity even reached page one of the New York Times. At a student assembly, Huey announced his plans to have five special trains take the band and student body to the game in Nashville. There were certain rules for behavior on the train: no liquor or the smell of it and no pulling of the bell cords. The trains would be patrolled by the state police. (31) Huey browbeat railroad officials to cut the fare from $19 to $6 by threatening to get the Tax Commission to assess railroad bridges in Louisiana for their true value. They got the message. Then Long pulled off a spectacular coup d'etat. He said that he would lend the six dollars plus one dollar for meals to any student who needed the money. Standing on campus and surrounded by delirious cadets, Huey pulled a wad of bills out of his pocket and began doling out the money. When this money was gone, he went back to his hotel followed by several hundred people. Standing in the doorway of his room, Huey continued the process until the last person had left. Each recipient wrote his name on a piece of paper, but there was no other identification check. Townspeople and non-students joined in, and it was suspected that some entrepreneurs went through the line more than once. (32) It was estimated that Long passed out $3,500 in cash.

Readers of the New York Times for October 26, 1934 read on the first page that Huey was still handing money out. The article also reported that the State of Tennessee would only allow armed Louisiana state troopers to enter the state by making them deputy game wardens to guard whatever wildlife they might import into Tennessee. Thus when the five trains pulled into Nashville on the morning of the game, they were met by the state game warden who commissioned Huey, his bodyguard and state troopers as deputy game wardens. Then Huey led a parade followed by the LSU band and the cadets in their new gray uniforms for two miles through the streets of downtown Nashville before a wildly enthusiastic crowd. Huey was accompanied by his bodyguard, the mayor of Nashville, the Vanderbilt football coach, and a good-looking brunette whom Huey had commandeered from the crowd. (33) At the game Huey led the LSU cheering section, and the team responded with a gloriuos 29 to 0 victory. Five months later, the business manager of LSU stated that 60 to 75 percent of the students had repaid the money for the trip.

For the game with the University of Mississippi, Huey came in his special train, marched to a new capitol building with a reluctant governor, and led the crowd in songs with music supplied by the combined LSU and Mississippi bands. The New York Times reported: "Jackson had never seen anything like it before. Mr. Long was more of an attraction than the biggest circus." (34) Long's plans to take 1,200 supporters to the University of Tennessee game in Knoxville were cancelled because a Knoxville newspaper called the football trips ballyhoo. "We don't want any publicity," huffed Long. "If that bunch of buzzards and varmints want to spread that sort of stuff, we don't want to come up." (35)

Excitement over football reached a point where during the game students would chant in anticipation of a victory, "We want a holiday," Often before the game was over, an announcement over the public address system would say that Monday classes were dismissed. (36)

Long's good behavior with Coach Biff Jones came to an end during the game with the University of Oregon in December 1934. LSU fell behind in the first half, 13 to 0, and Long was seen walking up and down along the bench, talking to the players and telling what he thought should be done. Jones threw his hat on the ground, shook his finger in Huey's face and refused to let him give a pep talk to the team at half-time. (37) Although LSU rallied to win the game, 14 to 13, it is not surprising that Jones resigned at the end of the season.

Long's involvement with football was equalled by his love for the band. According to the New York Times, "he (Long) sponsors one of the finest collegiate bands in the country and he knows how to use it for his glorification." (38) Actually the band was the first step in Huey's plans to develop the university. As Williams points out, Huey, the consummate politician, knew that a band could be impressive and could be seen and heard. (39) When he first saw the band in 1930, it had 28 pieces and a director who did double duty as the groundskeeper. Huey hired a new director, W. W. Hickboldt, a former army musician, and ordered the band increased to 125 pieces--over the objections of President Smith. This band became the apple of Huey's eye. He watched them practice, often stepped forward to lead them, helped design the uniforms, and decided what pieces to add. He collaborated with a local musician, Castro Carazo, in writing two songs, "Darling of LSU" and "Touchdown for LSU." (40) The band played at all the football games, for dress parades, military events, and sometimes toured the state. It had a part in the program for the Diamond Jubilee. In 1934 Huey hired Carazo as the new director and the band was further enlarged to over 200 pieces. Music scholarships were feely given.

The spectators who watched LSU play football received quite a show for their money. There were 200 musicians, 2,000 uniformed cadets, 50 smiling coeds in white pleated skirts and blazers known as the Purple Jackets, and octettes of dancing men and women cheerleaders. (41)

Why did Huey Long associate himself so directly and personally with football and the band? An obvious reason, of course, was the tremendous newspaper and radio publicity. He received publicity in the sport section and was noticed by people who didn't always read the rest of the paper. Long certainly exploited them for political purposes and to woo voters. The players said that Huey often talked about politics with them. His row with Biff Jones at the Oregon game came just at the time when Huey's treasurer was indicted for income tax evasion, and it shoved this unsavory news to the back pages. (42)

Long certainly had an intense personal involvement with the university and the student body. He referred to the institution as "my university" and he loved to mingle, chat and joke with students. Williams suggests that Huey saw this as a way to gain public support and attention to build up the university as a whole. (43) Biographer Forrest Davis, who had a series of interviews with the Kingfish, found that he had a particular interest in youth and physical fitness, particularly after he stopped drinking in 1934. Long believed that football was especially valuable "to lead the young into manly, virtuous courses." (44) Long was deadly serious about his no-drinking rule on the special trains for both students and non-students, and the state troopers removed offenders from the train when necessary. Perhaps it is revealing that in his autobiography Long wrote that any person "with brawn had some place or opportunity to hew out what was required of him in life." (45) Since his own appearance was somewhat pudgy and physically unimpressive, he may have derived great personal compensation from his association with football players. In his main recreational activity, chopping wood, he could wear out any three of his bodyguards. He took up golf but appraised his ability thusly: "I ain't so good at it." (46)

One other story is worth relating. LSU had a riding academy initiated through the interest of President Smith's wife. One day a coed was thrown from her horse and seriously injured or killed. This sad news reached Huey while he was campaigning in northern Louisiana on the issue of thrifty use of the taxpayer's money. Huey immediately sent President Smith a thrifty three-word telegram: "Sell them plugs." (47)

## Conclusions

What is the significance of this study? Is it anything more than a pleasant little essay into a piece of Americana? Can anything be learned from this study of Huey Long? Let us examine these questions.

Huey Long's love affair with the LSU football team and the band provides a personal insight into the man, but is of no great historical significance. However, Huey's efforts definitely pushed the LSU Tigers into the ranks of the big-time college football teams. LSU since that time has contributed its fair share to the football mania so typically characteristic of most Southern universities.

Huey Long's action concerning Louisiana State University have been sharply criticized. Ture, he occasionally went too far. The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools investigated the university on one occasion, and the Association of American Law Schools put the law school on probation. But the weight of evidence heavily supports the thesis that Long and President Smith were the influential forces in making LSU an outstanding university in the South. It could not compare with the best institutions elsewhere in the country, but it was a university that the people of Louisiana could be very proud of. Long considered LSU his university, and he did well by it. His achievements for the university in only five years would have been remarkable in ordinary times; for Depression years they were phenomenal. He showed an undeniable concern for the education of the citizens of his state through the university, the free textbooks for schoolchildren, and a night school program for illiterates. Despite his hillbilly background and limited education, he was not anti-intellectual. These actions were without doubt politically valuable, but at the same time much good resulted.

Huey Long's political manipulations and rise to national power deserve some analysis. Although the Kingfish had no chance to win the 1936 presidential election, he was moving toward a strong bargaining position between the Republican and Democratic parties with a possible 10 million votes when he was killed. Several political analysts agreed that Long was successful in his drive to take over the state because the existing state and local governments and officials were a failure in using the democratic process. Louisiana was ruthlessly dominated by big business, wealthy planters, and the Choctaws or the Old Regulars. This latter group were professional politicians in New Orleans who ran a Democratic machine comparable to those in northern cities and were no more ethical than Long. Time magazine described Long as no more of a Fascist or Communist than the late Boss Tweed. (48) These men treated constitutional procedures lightly. Democracy to many Louisiana citizens was an academic matter. Long came to power at a time when the nation's problems were immensely aggravated by the severe social and economic conditions created by the Depression. He emerged as the spokesman for the lower middle class. Huey came from the poor white class of Southern society--the sharecroppers, tenant farmers and farm laborers who succeeded the slaves. It is certainly to his credit that he did not campaign on racial issues or engage in "nigger baiting." He had some of the poor white prejudice toward blacks, but he provided public works employment for blacks at low wages and abolished poll taxes.

The voters could see tangible progress provided by Long's administration, such as 3,000 miles of paved roads, free bridges over the rivers and bayous, free textbooks for all schoolchildren, free school buses, lower utility rates, and a fine university. Hamilton Basso, a New Orleans newspaper reporter, credited Long's appeal to the voters as based on a possible good against the positive evil of the New Orleans gang. (49) One of these petty politicians, the mayor of New Orleans, was approached by a group of citizens eager to promote cultural life by having a Greek theater. The mayor listened to their request for money and support and then exclaimed, "Hell, it will never go. We don't have enough Greeks in New Orleans to support it."

Some years ago Adlai Stevenson observed that democracy must be earned by each generation of its citizens. It cannot be inherited. Our experience with President Richard Nixon and Watergate tested the very core of our democratic form of government, and fortunately it survived. Millions of Americans are painfully aware of our society's shortcomings--millionaires who pay no taxes, privileged businessmen and public officials who overdraw checking accounts by thousands of dollars with no penalty, influence peddling by cash gifts and special favors for legislators and public officials, and other offenses.

Kane saw this danger when he wrote in 1941: "Maldistribution of the country's income may be expected to outlast the present war and the defense boom. The fertile ground of discontent is still thickly sown. The seed of poor-white resentment in the country areas, of have-not yearnings in the cities, lies in the topsoil, ready to sprout under the hot rays of demagogy." (50)

We are not the chosen people. Our form of government has no natural immunity against dictatorship. The pages of history are strewn with the wreckage of many societies. Long used the radio as a powerful tool to propagandize himself and his ideas. Television could be used even more effectively by a spellbinding demagogue. Consider also the fact that many citizens today are withdrawing from public affairs and the responsibilities of citizenship. In physical education we observe a definite trend toward self-analysis, inner feelings and peak experiences which focus on the individual. It is no longer fashionable to talk about education for living in a democratic society. Now it is "do your own thing." This current emphasis has considerable value, but if it leads away from the duties of civic responsibility, then the price could be the loss of our democratic form of government. Government by a minority few will not remain a democracy for very long. Yes, another Huey Long could come swinging and hightailing down the road leading the band and his happy followers.

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# A MOMENT OF RELATIVE PURITY IN COLLEGE SPORT, 1850-1880

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In no other nation is school and college sport as visible or important as in the United States. In many nations enthusiasm for both education and sport is at least equal to that in America. However, sport/athletics, while present on these foreign campuses, is not prominent. The United States is unique in the important role accorded organized athletics and sport in education.

This uniqueness has received scant attention or explanation by historians. After stating that "the phenomenal expansion in the field of sport in the nineteenth century was the most significant development in the nation's recreational life that had yet taken place," (1) Dulles avoids the subject. Wiebe likewise avoids the subject, though it could easily fit his interpretation of a search for order. Sheldon sees the growth of athletics as an outgrowth of fraternities while Hofstadter sees athletics as an expression of American anti-intellectualism. Some explain it as an opiate, a safety valve, a search for nationalism. Athletics on college campuses might be the result of all or some of these explanations, but none of them is sufficient unto itself. The historians' cursory explanations give the impression that intercollegiate athletics is a facet of higher education that suddenly appeared on campuses with little relation to changes within the educational system.

This study will explain the genesis and development of organized sport on the college campus. The author contends that organized sport in the mid-nineteenth century met a definite student need, that it was the natural by-product of an educational evolution in which the primary function of higher education evolved from a desire to graduate young men and women of Christian character to a desire to meet the social and practical needs of a new society. For a brief moment in history, 1850-1880, organized sport on college campuses reflected a relative purity in its relationship to the educational process which may have been lost forever and from which we might learn.

High education is a social institution which affects every aspect of its component parts; in turn, these parts reflect the changes within the institution. Therefore, to understand the evolution and nature of organized sport on college campuses in the mid-nineteenth century, it is necessary to study the history of education prior to 1880, reflect on the changes in the philosophy and goals of education during this period and see their effect on organized sport.

## Education in the Colonial Era

In the Colonial period, higher education emerged as a close approximation of the culture which the European settlers had left on the Continent. Christian tradition was the basis of the colonists' European background and they were determined to preserve it. They saw higher education as a valuable tool to develop a literate, college-trained clergy who would educate their children in the Christian traditions central to the community. They structured the curriculum, administration and life-style of the early colleges to achieve this end. Curriculum would be classical and theological, faculties would be paternalistic and students would be protected from the evil intrusion of materialistic pleasures.

But the new colleges were to do more than preserve religious traditions; they were also considered the cornerstone for the civil life of the colonists in the New World. The colonists, unencumbered by the aristocratic restrictions of a European society and threatened on all sides by the vast expanse of their new land, firmly believed that civil society would prosper only under the leadership of trained and developed minds. As a result, colonial colleges emerged with a dual function--to preserve the past by educating men of Christian piety and to promote the future by educating professional men. As a result the church would enjoy educated ministers, civil society would enjoy orthodox-educated laymen as its leaders, and Christian traditions would be maintained. A colonial paradigm for education emerged: higher education was important, but it was to be the education of men of piety and character who would preserve the past and promote the future.

This accepted theory was suitable to its age. It solved many problems of the colonial period and met the needs of a rural society between 1650 and the eighteenth century. However, within this environment, extracurricular activities were not encouraged. They were seen as idle pleasures that intruded on personal commitment to success through salvation. Without institutional support, sport and recreation were left to the individual. Students tended to pursue natural interests such as hunting, fishing, skating, woodcutting and at times risqué activities such as billiards, caroms, shinty and other local activities. The evangelical commitment of these early denominational colleges to the education of pious men and women protected students from the evil intrusion of materialistic pleasures.

## Changing Times, 1800-1850

Over the next 100 years American society was to change. Separation from England necessitated increased productivity and the development of expanded markets. An agrarian society was threatened by industry and urbanization. A new merchant class took its place after the Revolution and the catalyst of the Civil War allowed the industrialists to expand their sphere of influence. By 1875 our society was in transition between a world of industry and technology and a world of individualism and agriculture. Despite the efforts of mugwumps and others, the future was clear. The United States would become an urbanized society dependent upon industry and technology and supported by agriculture. The nation would never look back and every social institution would have to adjust to this reality or be replaced.

Education during this period struggled to maintain its basic paradigm despite the emergence of anomalies from within and from outside. From within, faculties found themselves divided over their role in higher education. Many saw themselves continuing the tradition of paternalism--"in loco parentis"--while others, who had been exposed to a European education, returned from study abroad with an enthusiasm for the German concept of education with its emphasis on research and specialization. Feeling constrained by the parental role and the limited scope of a classical education, they agitated for an expanded curriculum and an extended sphere of responsibility for students.

The most vocal expression of deviance from the philosophy of "men of piety and character" came from the students; they were no longer preservers of the past but reflected second and third generations who looked to the future. An increasing number believed in their ability to control their own destiny and felt limited by an educational system that did not meet their needs. Riots broke out on campuses throughout the early nineteenth century because of restrictive campus life. Students turned to clandestine societies and extracurricular activities such as debating societies, social fraternities and sport to give more meaning to their existence. There are individual instances of organized sport, such as football, wrestling and crew--most notably at Harvard and Yale--being included in these activities during the first half of the nineteenth century. However, by themselves the students were too fragmented to redirect higher educational objectives. They rioted and protested. Some administrators sympathized with them but there were too many men of distinction, such as President Seelye of Amherst, who felt that American colleges should not allow the intrusion of vocational and specialized studies to divert them from their traditional goal of training Christian gentlemen.

Institutions of higher education were also being affected by forces outside the institution. The emerging society of industry and technology witnessed the fact that men who work could be successful, that there was a new form of salvation, not only in religion, medicine and law, but also in the world of business organization and competition. It witnessed the great influence that these new success stories had on the governance of this new world. It also witnessed the fact that man had some ability to control his environment, that he was not dependent on nature only, but given the proper tools, he could positively affect his environment. This witness tore at the very fibre of education's classical paradigm and gave focus to a crisis in education. Forces from within and outside were expressing dissatisfaction with the ability of a paradigm fashioned in the Colonial period to meet the needs of an emerging industrial society.

## Post-Civil War Trends in Higher Education

This crisis climaxed with the Civil War. It was such a thoroughgoing social convulsion that all social institutions had to reevaluate their objectives. Prior to the war, education could vacillate between contending forces, but the war demand for practical skills initiated an irresistible tide of reform within education from 1860 through 1880. American academicians were forced to recognize once and for all the professional respectability and indispensability of the engineer, the natural scientist and the industrial technician. "Given this recognition, training for these careers could no longer be denied its equal place in the college curriculum alongside the education of prospective lawyers, physicians and ministers . . . Science became the guiding star of higher education." (2)

The transition from the classical to the practical was given further impetus with the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862. This Act gave federal recognition to the fact that there was a definite need to support public schools of higher education which would meet the practical needs of a complex society, colleges and universities "in which any person can find instruction in any subject." (3) Initiative within higher education passed into the hands of those schools which incorporated new fields of knowledge such as science and modern language into the curriculum. The German university became a model for American education, with its emphasis on free scientific research and disinterested pursuit of truth.

At the same time a new generation of administrators came into power with increasing public acceptance of their efforts to revolutionize education. In their view, the professions were intellectualized callings and deserved equal place with the arts. They echoed the indictment of classical conservatism expressed by President Francis Wayland of Brown in 1842 and demanded a curriculum "broad enough to meet the needs of men who were to manage great instruments of production." (4) The elective system was initiated and flourished because it met the needs of the American culture of that period. Faculties became more specialized, paternalism waned and living restrictions were eased. A new philosophy of education came to power: higher education was important, but its primary function was to meet the social and practical needs of a new society.

This transition from one accepted theory to another has never been completed; education remains a constantly evolving process, but by 1880 the essence of the new paradigm was generally accepted by a majority within and outside education despite the efforts of many to preserve the classical traditions. The transition was not made without a price. Thomas Kuhn, in his work The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, concluded that a new paradigm, although incomplete, emerges because it best solves the problem under study. He added that it brings with it new problems peculiar to itself.

Before 1865 student life was more cohesive. Literary and debating societies were the focus of student extracurricular activities, but even these activities were not too remote from the aims of the basic course of study. "Despite the sporadic warfare which raged between the faculty and the student body, a basic unity existed between the curriculum and the extracurriculum." (5) Following the Civil War a new situation arose. To quote from Claude Fuess' book, Amherst--The Story of a New England College, discussing the nature of student life after the Civil War:

> Nevertheless, for good or for ill, the transformation begun in the 1830s was becoming more apparent and Amherst was growing secular in tone. The spirit of the age did not encourage Calvinistic Orthodoxy. From the picturesque white farm houses of the New England hilltops boys were still sent to Amherst, full of zest for learning and an ambition to mend the morals of their fellows. But with these, and in increasing numbers, were more sophisticated youths from the cities, accustomed to comforts, and even luxuries and adverse to asceticism. They were not often vicious, but they experimented with more vices, they liked fraternities and they introduced new standards of conduct. The trend was still toward the professions rather than business, but even in this respect, a shift was noticeable. (6)

Amherst was a small, very conservative institution that preserved the tradition of liberal education and changed slowly. In larger institutions the secular movement was accelerated as class sizes increased and students began to represent a broader cross-section of society. But the movement lacked coordinated purpose and students suffered accordingly. As college faculties relaxed their parternalistic grip on students and the dormitory system declined, students were given greater freedom and responsibility without the support of a positive program of counseling. For a period of time they were allowed to drift. The worst aspect of emerging industry and technology--depersonalization--became a part of the college environment and student lives from 1860 to 1880.

Student aims and ambitions had been redirected, but their basic insecurities remained. They had been relatively secure in the defined parameters of the classical tradition; now they found themselves without identity in a depersonalized society. Anonymity weighs heavily on us all, but particularly on the young. They want to be seen, to be noticed. They want to achieve, to be valued for their achievements as individuals. Students of the mid-nineteenth century came from a society dominated by the work ethic, which denigrated idleness and eulogized achievement. Now they found themselves in an atmosphere of unstructured idle reflection, unprepared to productively use their new-found opportunities. To fill this vacuum many turned to extracurricular forms of activities, including organized sport.

## Collegiate Sport, 1860-1880

Helmeth Pleissner, in "The Function of Sport in Industrial Society," contends that there are three primary motives for what he terms "strenuous idleness": "a disturbed sense of the physical; opposition to the individual's anonymity in mass society; and opposition to the alienation resulting from the intellectualizing of modern life." (7) He believed that sport was the primary form of strenuous idleness and that it was a compensating, balancing reaction to the depersonalization of an industrial society. This thesis can be applied to college campuses immediately after the Civil War. Organized sport offered an escape from anonymity; it was an outlet for increased idleness. It filled a personal need in student lives that had been subjugated by the oppressive structure of the early colleges. Although impractical itself, the organized informal sport of the post-Civil War period was a pragmatic solution to the needs of a depersonalized student body. It was not inherent to the educational process at this time. Later generations would apply this interpretation to justify exploitation of the events but it was a by-product of education's evolution and flowed from the very nature and needs of the men and women on campuses.

A brief look at the types of sports supported in large numbers by participants and spectators in American colleges at this time reflects the students' desire to escape anonymity and find a unifying factor in their college life. Interest in individual activities such as literary and debating societies waned. Students turned to newspaper work and social fraternities as well as to crew, baseball, track and field and football (team sports) because they offered personal identity within a larger sympathetic group.

Crew, the prominent sport of this era, was highlighted by the famous crew race of 1859 in Worcester, Massachuetts, which attracted an estimated 25,000 spectators and an equal number of fights. Also popular were the Ingleside, Massachusetts, regattas of 1870-1873, particularly 1870, in which a land grant college team, the Massachusetts Aggies, first defeated an Ivy League power. By 1871 crew had gained sufficient stature that it formed a Regatta Association. Baseball grew from humble beginnings as a tangential form of entertainment to the more important debate and chess matches between Williams and Amherst in 1859 to full maturity by 1879 when the Intercollegiate Baseball Association was formed. Track and field, initially begun as supportive entertainment to the more publicized regattas, came together as the IC4A in 1876. And football, a sport which stumbled and fell throughout the century in various forms, emerged in 1869 and formed an association by 1876.

These four dominant sports grew rapidly, not only because they offered an escape from anonymity, but also because they reflected the social composition of the undergraduates. Crew and boating were popular because they had been experienced by many undergraduates and provided a social atmosphere. Baseball, which reflected the American rural mentality, also provided a comfortable social atmosphere and allowed for increased participation. Track and field combined democratic participation with sociability, while football allowed for sociability within an atmosphere of rugged struggle--symbolic of the increasing competitive nature of an industrial society. However, the common bond in all these activities was their ability to meet the social and personal needs of an increasingly diverse student body.

In conclusion this brief period of organized "strenuous idleness" was probably the purest form of athletics known to American campuses. Intense athletic rivalry, which played an important part in developing college sport in America, reared its head periodically but was not a basic part of campus athletics. (8) It was not until intrusion of commercial interests, such as communication and transportation, intensified the commercial advantage of winning versus losing that college administrations had to struggle with the anti-intellectual character of athletics and related services such as trainers, monetary prizes and limited recruitment.

Until then--and Savage in his report on athletics uses the date of 1880--organized sport on college campuses was student-controlled (this is the key to a moment of relative purity), endeavored to maximize participation, was enjoyed for its social value and looked upon competition as a means rather than an end. Like all extracurricular campus activities, organized sport was viewed with comtempt by some, with condescension by others, criticized by people inside and outside education because of its anti-intellectual nature, but enjoyed by an increasing number of students who found "little in undergraduate life to make able and earnest students feel that intellectual work was really an important part of life." (9) Sport had arrived on college campuses. Its value was not understood and still withstands a single interpretation, but for a brief moment in our educational history it stood by itself without need of interpretation, a natural by-product of problems resulting from the transition of education from one paradigm to another, relatively free from commercialism and exploitation.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play* (New York: Peter Smith, 1952), 198.

2. John S. Brubacher and Willis Ruby, *Higher Education in Transition* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), 105, 107.

3. Morrill Act of 1862.

4. Brubacher and Ruby, *Higher Education in Transition*, 103.

5. Brubacher and Ruby, 116.

6. Claude Moore Fuess, *Amherst - The Story of a New England College* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1935), 170-171.

7. Ibid.

8. Gottfried Kuhn, ed., *Die Funktion des Sports in der Industriellen Gesellschaft* (Weinheim, Germany, 1961), 18-32, as translated by Helmeth Pleissner in *The Function of Sport in Industrial Society*.

# ORIGINS OF THE CONNECTION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETICS AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, 1890-1930: AN ORGANIZATIONAL INTERPRETATION

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Somehow lost amidst the seemingly ever present controversy over the relationship of physical education and athletics is the historical question of how or why this relationship exists at all, especially when one considers the many other possible forms of organization of athletics and the university.

The following analysis of intercollegiate athletics and physical education during the period 1890-1930 concurs with the view presented by Guy Lewis. (1) His study demonstrates that the unification of intercollegiate athletics and emerging departments of physical education was not primarily the result of a philosophical commitment by members of the profession or of fulfilling the ideal of education for all, but rather to serve the interests of intercollegiate athletics and the survival needs of the university. Extending Lewis' argument, I propose to demonstrate: the organizational necessities for survival which moved athletics and physical education together, the questioning of the legitimacy of athletics by the faculty, and the questioning of the legitimacy of physical education with its incorporation of athletics.

## Definitions

A formal organization is one expressly constructed for the purpose of achieving explicit goals. (2) The university and departments of physical education are examples. Existing within formal organizations are task environments, which are those parts of an environment that are relevant or potentially relevant to goal setting and goal attainment. (3) Task environments may be conflicting or contradictory. (4) For example, in American society one part of the environment, university faculty, may hold an important resource for physical education while another part, state legislatures and alumni, may control other resources. Whereas faculty may demand educational relevancy, alumni and legislators may demand competitive teams and winning.

As environments may differ, the goals of the organization may also differ. Organizations existing within varied task environments may make appeals to conflicting segments of the environment by incorporating goals to which different elements are sympathetic. In the course of the organization's development, goals may be incorporated which are conflicting or even contradictory. The goal of organizational survival is a derived goal. Derived goals, such as survival, are goals which are not among the original goals of the organization. At times, movement toward such derived goals may inhibit or contradict movement toward the original raison d'etre of the formal organization.

The "open systems" perspective utilized in this study concerns itself with the interchanges of the organization and the various components of the task environment. In this view, organizations such as universities and physical education departments must continually negotiate with administration, faculty, students and the general public in order to acquire the resources necessary for existence. Traditional organizational theory, which viewed human behavior as a "closed system," focused on the principles of internal functioning and, in this writer's view, inevitably led to micro-level analysis of individuals and small groups. (5) Employment of the closed system approach directs one to focus on such factors as departmental coordination to the exclusion of environmental factors. Open systems theorists, on the other hand, hold that the organization is symbiotically related to the environment, taking from it necessary inputs and returning to it goods and services. For example, in return for vital resources, physical education departments must return trained teachers and coaches, knowledge and fitness. For embedded organizations--departments or divisions within larger organizations--the parent organization (in our case the university or college) may form a substantial part of the task environment. (6)

It is essential that the open system avoid entropy. It must import resources from the environment greater than it loses through its outputs. Obviously more students must be imported than are graduated if departments are to survive. Extrapolating upon this point, survival itself may become an organization's overriding goal. Though universities and physical education departments may have been originally formed for the expressed goals of educating all students or for the fitness and hygiene of students, survival of the university or departments may become the major goal. Different organizational goals in turn affect the character and the interactions of the organization with the environment.

## Research Question

The remainder of this study will deal with the following argument. With expansion of universities in the period 1890-1930, the American university as a formal organization sought to reduce fluctuations in the flow of resources (e.g., money, visibility, students, recruits). Intercollegiate athletics became a means to that end. Athletics was perceived as a means of ensuring resource flow. Similarly, with expansion of physical education departments during this period, departments as formal organizations required resources in the way of money, students, faculty and significantly the support of university leadership. The means to this end was incorporation of athletics within departmental responsibilities.

Both the American university and the fledgling field of physical education grew during the period 1890-1930. Such growth, however, was not always linear. There existed instead fluctuations in imported monetary and human resources necessary for university viability. Athletics' inclusion was deemed necessary by many university leaders as a resource-drawing vehicle.

A desegregated task environment, however, complicated the situation. Whereas alumni, state legislatures and students held considerable resources (i.e., money and recruits), university faculty held another resource necessary to the viability of the university (i.e., support and grants of legitimacy). With the incorporation of athletics, effort had to be made to rationalize such a domain within the traditional educational claims of the organization. Unification of athletics and departments of physical education was an organizational attempt to appeal to different elements of that resource-bearing environment.

## Rise of Universities

Throughout the nineteenth century there was a strong undercurrent of public opinion that colleges were too exclusive. Colleges were not keeping abreast of a changing industrial society. Enrollments were declining and finances became an over-present problem. (7) Spurred by the growth of the more practically-oriented land grant colleges in the 1860s, however, enrollments began to rise and doubled every 15 years beginning 1870. (8) The rise in enrollment was perhaps a reflection of a dynamic society rebuilding from the Civil War. Ross (9) argues that such factors as industrialization, a shift from public acceptance of authoritarianism to empirical thought and an increasing dissatisfaction with religious-oriented colleges contributed to such growth.

Confidence in the stability of these institutions, however, enlarging as they were, was not necessarily great. Before the Depression there was a "continuing campus concern for adjustments to external forces that could bring improvement in support and a greater consensus on purpose and future directions." (10) Overall growth rates mask yearly fluctuations and differences in rates of growth. Table 1 reveals the fluctuating percentage of students attending college relative to the total population age group during the period 1900-1928.

Table 1

"Percent of college age population enrolled relative to total college age population." (Figures from the Biennial Survey of Education, 1926-1928.) (11)

| Year | % Enrolled | Change in % | Year | % Enrolled | Change in % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1900 | 2.84 | | 1918 | 4.73 | |
| 1905 | 3.03 | +.19 | 1920 | 7.41 | +2.68 |
| 1910 | 3.68 | +.65 | 1922 | 10.54 | +3.13 |
| 1915 | 4.38 | +.70 | 1924 | 13.11 | +2.57 |
| 1916 | 5.09 | +.71 | 1926 | 16.20 | +3.09 |
| 1918 | 4.73 | -.36 | 1928 | 17.95 | +1.75 |

To effectively utilize other resources, such as facilities and personnel, an organization's planners seek to assure a steady flow of resources into the organization. University leaders could not be assured of the flow of this vital resource. As can be seen from these figures, fluctuations in the rate of student enrollment was the rule. Competition for resources and attempts made to smoothen fluctuations were thus understandable.

With the uncertainties of World War I, enrollments dropped 20 percent from 1916-1917 to 1917-1918 (Biennial Survey of Education, 1918-1920) and the financial condition of most institutions was unstable. (11a) Ross cites the insufficient funding for the years immediately before and after World War I. (12) Such instabilities left faculty and supportive staff under a continuous financial threat, and uncertainties were exacerbated throughout the Depression. Evidence of the universities' weak condition during this period comes from a Savage-prepared Carnegie report entitled Economy in Higher Education. (13) The financial stability of educational institutions was severely questioned and there was grave concern for faculty salaries. The response in many instances was a stepped-up effort to increase resources and to reduce fluctuations in their flow. These efforts continued during the post war period. (14)

Concomitant with increased resource-seeking behavior, there developed in the university of the late nineteenth century a shift of control from the clergy to business-oriented leaders. Whereas the former may have been more concerned with religion and the classics, the latter were concerned with the growth of their institutions. (15) This concern, coupled with the developing American involvement with sport, was to have an enormous impact on the structure of physical education.

## Development of Physical Education at American Universities

The first physical education programs at American universities occurred during the nineteenth century as concessions to student demands. Instruction was provided by faculty from other academic areas. While athletics grew largely outside of physical education, the thrust in physical education was originally on programmed gymnastics and movement aimed at health and fitness. The early directors of physical education, among them Sargent (appointed at Harvard in 1879) and Anderson (appointed at Yale in 1887), did not see the control of athletics or its staffing as part of their department's responsibilities. (16)

In 1888 the state universities, led by the University of Virginia, the University of California and the University of Wisconsin, incorporated physical education within their departmental structure. (17) By 1907 over 50 percent of the institutions of higher education had a physical education department. (18) Over half of the physical education staff had been accorded the rank of assistant professor or higher. A survey of 231 schools revealed that by 1921 86 percent had established a physical education department. Contrary to the foundational beliefs of Sargent and Anderson, however, in these departments 82 percent of staff were also engaged in athletic coaching. (19) By the time of the famous 1929 Carnegie Foundation study, (20) it was reported that of 177 directors of departments of physical education and athletics, only 23 had majored in physical education as undergraduates. In fact, for 85 percent success as a football coach was instrumental to their appointment as director. Training and experience in athletics was deemed more important than training in physical education. Obviously in the period 1879-1921 there had been radical shifts in the structure of physical education. Especially notable were an enormous growth in the number of colleges with physical education departments, the legitimization of physical education staff through the granting of faculty status, and the development of a close bond between athletics and physical education.

It is this writer's opinion that growth of physical education and athletics and their unification in title and personnel during the 1890-1930 period was not merely coincidental. Athletics' resource-drawing power was needed by the university seeking to establish its viability and maintain its growth. Business-minded university leadership saw, however, the need to rationalize athletics within the educational structure. This was accomplished through unification with an already somewhat accepted department of the university. Physical education, itself seeking to establish its viability, could do little but accept this responsibility and the additional resources accompanying unification.

The university supplemented its original educational goals with survival. To appeal to different elements of a desegregated task environment, the university was compelled to (a) incorporate athletics into its structure, thus appealing to money and recruit-bearing segments of the environment and (b) attempt to rationalize that activity to faculty which held its grant of legitimacy and which saw athletics as contrary to the proper goals of an educational institution.

## Growth of Collegiate Athletics

Campus athletics originated with the student formation of teams. Class teams and clubs eventually led to intercollegiate contests (e.g., Harvard vs. Yale in rowing, 1852). This early athleticism usually came over faculty objections. Management and funding were provided by students or concerned alumni. Coaches were usually student captains, alumni or professionals hired on a seasonal basis. (21) With student mismanagement, faculty boards were formed to oversee athletics. Eventually control over athletics was sought through incorporation of coaches into physical education departments. In 1892 Amos A. Stagg at the University of Chicago became the first college coach given faculty recognition. (22) The pattern of physical education faculty being responsible for coaching and other athletic responsibilities grew to become the norm as popularity of sport swept the United States during the 1920s. In a 1929 study by Scott it was determined that 78 percent of physical education directors were also responsible for the intercollegiate program. In fact, 70 percent of all directors coached athletic teams themselves.

## American Universities and Physical Education as Formal Organizations

A task of all organizations is the management of its dependency on the environment. Vital resources which provide the lifeblood of the organization must be ensured and fluctuations in flow reduced. The question of resource flow may have gained greater salience in the eyes of administration with the transfer of university control to those concerned with the business model of the university organization. (23) Through diversification, these business-minded organization leaders spread the risks involved with producing goods for, and acquiring resources from, only one sector of the task environment. Establishing a position in the athletic market may compensate for fluctuations in demands by the task environment for other outputs of physical education. In such a fashion the long-run viability of the organization may be increased. Diversification is also a means of opportunistic growth. When the organization is constrained in some sectors of the task environment it may seek to enlarge its task environment in other areas that are still open and unconstrained. (24) Figure 1 may help in the visualization of this concept.

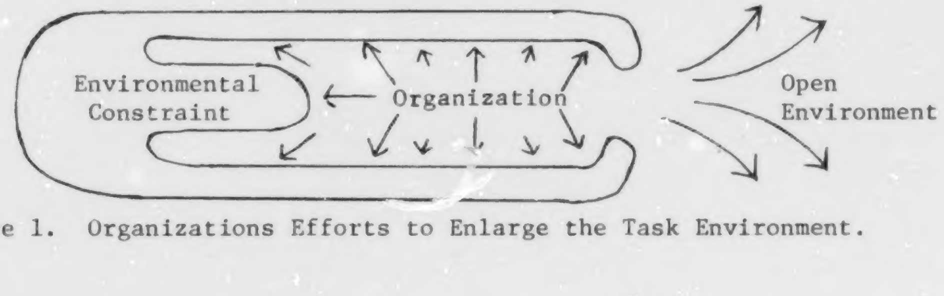

Figure 1. Organizations Efforts to Enlarge the Task Environment.

In the case of physical education, the organization was embedded within and constrained by the university's traditional "domain claims" and by its general faculty (discussed later). Athletics provided an opportunity for the organization of physical education. With the burgeoning of sport at the turn of the century, physical education had before it a field technologically similar to its own. In addition, with the mismanagement of sport by students and alumni there existed a vacuum of control which further increased the opportunity apparently open to physical education. Intercollegiate sport had tremendous visibility and popularity with the student body and the alumni. With support of athletics by students, potential students, alumni and state legislators, the administrators of financially tenuous universities had good reason to become enthusiastic about athletics. The liability which intercollegiate athletics could potentially become to physical education may have been visible at that time, but that image was overshadowed by the resources and stability which inclusion of athletics in the physical education department's formal structure could provide for both the university and the developing physical education departments. In Figure 1 we see that the "open environment" for physical education at the turn of the century was a society which was generally ready for sport. Physical education constrained by academic pressures found release in this new environment.

Perhaps diversification is not so much a natural evolutionary expansion as it is an a defensive response by an organization to environmental pressure through the addition of new programs and personnel. "Buffering" seeks primarily to maintain the organization's survival and is not primarily concerned with a long-range coordination of programs and movement toward the organization's original goals.

Where did environmental pressure emanate from? We are familiar with the traditional legitimacy problems of physical education within academia. One source of the problem is traced by some of our Puritan ethic. (25) Another source may concern the proper "domain claims" of the university. Institutions are defined by society as legitimate partly on the basis of the propriety of the technology employed and the outputs which are the institution's objectives. For example, we all know that because there is a societal need for nails, nail manufacturers must produce nails. The machinery necessary for production, if it is efficient, lends a rational air to the organization. Hence legitimacy of the organization may be furthered. The university traditionally claimed to develop human minds. The technology employed was typically the classics--mathematics and Latin, and eventually the techniques of empirical investigation.

Inclusion of physical education within the university was resisted partly because of the seeming inappropriateness of its technology and physical goals to the "proper" goals of the university. E. M. Hartwell, who served as presdient of the National Physical Education Association in 1893, noted the resistance of America's college leaders to physical education. (26) A developing organization, as was physical education at the turn of the century, requires legitimacy to survive. Through the incorporation of athletics, physical education may have gained support for its legitimacy from some if not all educational leaders. Often that newly-found support was embodied in the presidents of institutions of higher education. Betts' chronicling of support for athletics by college presidents in 1926 is most significant. In that year the presidents of the following colleges and universities were all on record as defending athletics: City College of New York, Iowa, Columbia, Middlebury, Bates, Princeton, Chicago, and Michigan. (27)

It is interesting to note, however, that the buffering which reduces environmental pressure may lead to additions to the organization which are uncoordinated, incompatible and even contradictory.

Further presidential support for athletics is found in remarks made in 1930 by Dean S. V. Sanford, president of the University of Georgia. In response to faculty critics of college athletics, Sanford rationalized the commercialization of athletics and pins some of the blame for the campus disquiet on faculty inadequacies. He stated that "there is no need to be uneasy; there is no need to be alarmed; our athletic problems will be solved. . .and in the years to come college athletics will have their proper place in the educational program and a higher place in the hearts and minds of the American people." (28)

From the perspective of the college president it was not surprising that athletics should be embraced by the institution. Funds were scarce and their flow was not guaranteed. Competition for resources existed between the various institutions and types of institutions (public vs. private). (29) As early as the 1870s, the president of Cornell accepted the indebtedness of his victorious college crew team and charged it to the advertising expenses of the university. (30) At Notre Dame intercollegiate football was consciously developed in the 1890s as an agency of student recruitment. As Rudolph noted, "by 1900 the relationship between football and public relations had been firmly established and almost everywhere acknowledged as one of the sport's major justifications." (31) In fact, public relations personnel were so avidly engaged in emphasizing the importance of sport in the university that the Carnegie Foundation felt the need in Bulletin #23 to make note of this excess. (32) In a similar comment from Bulletin #26, the Foundation reported:

> The avidity of the colleges themselves for publicity has in the past been partly to blame for the unsatisfactory relation between newspapers and college sports. Comparatively few institutions have attempted to give newspaper writers the opportunity to learn that athletics are only one of the activities of a college or university. (33)

Savage set 1880 as the date of professionalization in intercollegiate athletics. This was when college administrators and boards of trustees recognized the favorable publicity their schools could receive from the exploits of winning teams. (34) Not only did the coach demand winning in order to secure his position, but school leadership demanded winning since the quality of the athletic team was often equated with the quality of the institution or of the state from which legislative support was derived. (35) University presidents felt they needed athletics to attract students and obtain funds from the state and alumni. (36) From their perspective, the incorporation of athletics was understandable and rationalized as a necessary means of obtaining resources for an expanding educational organization.

There remained, however, questions as to the legitimacy and propriety of athletics at the university. These questions were often embodied in the faculty. Due perhaps to the puritan ethic and the domain claims deemed proper by the faculty, they offered resistance to the inclusion of athletics. As Slosson indicated:

> University presidents, with few exceptions, express approval of intercollegiate contests, alumni give enthusiastic support, students vent their displeasure upon any who presume to question their value and the outside world encourages and applauds, but in every university there is considerable, and I believe, an increasing number of instructory staff who are profoundly dissatisfied with the athletic condition of today. (37)

## Rationalization of Athletics Within the University

It is Marshall Meyer's contention that organizations use claims of domain in order to compete in the environment. (38) The societal allocation of functions and resources may be determined not so much by the qualities of the actual activities carried out by the organization as by its claims for the "specific goals it wishes to pursue and the functions it seeks to undertake in order to achieve these goals." (39) The allocation of societally legitimated functions and a share of its resources may be determined by what the university and physical education department claim are their proper responsibilities and areas of expertise, over and above what they actually do.

Organizations must seek to develop domain consensus, i.e., "a set of expectations both for members of an organization and for others with whom they interact, about what the organization will and will not (should not) do." (40) Consensus as to an organization's domain "provides an image of the organization's role in a larger system, which in turn serves as a guide for the ordering of actions in certain directions and not in other." (41) Most organizations cannot haphazardly claim responsibility over vast areas of society's needs and resources. Obviously, constraints to organizational claims exist or many organizations would merrily claim vast inappropriate domains.

"Only if the organization's claims to domain are recognized by those who provide the necessary support, by the task environment, can a domain by operational." (42) Referring to the hardware example, a nail manufacturer would have a difficult time gaining acceptance from consumers if it were to make claims for responsibility in the area of basic educational research; students and educational researchers would obviously find it difficult to accept the nail manufacturer within their research community.

The university which needs athletics for the resources it draws must somehow rationalize it within the university's educational domain claims. Insitutions of higher education in the United States have traditionally sought to educate. This has been their broadest legitimized goal. The goals of athletics in their original form seemed to conflict with the university's original goals. Thus, states Berryman, athletics had to be rationalized as an educational activity and to various components of a sometimes conflicting task environment. (43) The monetary resources argument for athletics' inclusion may suffice for campus administrators concerned with the business of the university but may not quell the opposition of faculty concerned with the university's educational direction.

The organization's attempts to buffer itself from environmental pressure are complicated by a desegregated task environment. At the same time that athletics draws support from the university president, it may lead to further legitimacy problems from another significant task environment, the faculty.

In 1926 the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) condemned football for its hysteria, drinking, betting, overpaid coaches and professional temptations. (44)

As was often the case, the AAUP focused on football's effects on undergraduate observers as opposed to concern for the players. In their view, though football provided a recreative outlet and developed a sense of common interest and a topic of conversation and thought, it also led to an overexcitement in the fall and a distortion of values and other goals of students and the university. For the select few participants there was the great advantage of high level training. AAUP stated that:

> faculty morale is seriously impaired by the present football situation. For though football has for the faculty the same great recreative advantages as for student spectators, the disadvantages in this case are very great.
>
> The chief disadvantage is the discouragement resulting from knowledge of the distortion of values caused by the football situation....
>
> A specific source of discontent in some cases is the employment of non-faculty coaches at salaries higher in proportion to the period of service. . .the institution itself appears thus to set the seal of its assent on the predominant importance of football. (45)

Specific faculty action is evidenced by a 1905 Faculty Academic Council condemnation of football at Stanford University, a condemnation which for a short time led to the substitution of rugby for football. (46)

The means chosen for solving the problem of rationalizing athletics within the university may be understood in the contest of organizational perspective. Another solution may have involved a slight redefinition of the purpose of the college. Ross identified four competing ideologies in American colleges and universities after 1865. The mental discipline school held that exposure to the classics would sharpen mental faculties; powers of the mind could then be turned to other substantive areas. The philosophy of utility school argued that education should be practical and of public service. The research concept school, which originated in Germany, emphasized the development of skill and orientations necessary for detailed empirical study. Though the three aforementioned ideologies were useful and may have been used to rationalize components of university operations, they were not as helpful to the legitimation of athletics in the university as was the cultural school. Here the emphasis was on the "all-around student" whose physical and mental faculties it was felt should be sharpened and developed. (47) Obviously this educational rationale fit athletics to a "T."

Certain programs and technologies are deemed by society as appropriate to specific organizations. This leads to a sense of the organization as rational, modern and responsible. (48) Athletics during the period 1890-1930 was perceived as physically-oriented activity. Its place among the university's more cognitively-oriented programs and technologies was therefore questionable. Through connection with physical education, however, a field already within the university, the educational leadership could argue that it was indeed contributing to the institution's goals. Its inclusion in the physical education curriculum thus lent an educationally rational veneer of justification to university athletics.

Physical education, eager to increase it stability in the university, could hardly refuse the resources which inclusion of athletics would immediately bring. Another rationalization was the "doctrine of good works" which was recommended by the critics themselves. (49) In 1926 the Committee on Intercollegiate Football reported that "the responsibility for the educational welfare of our college students lies primarily with our faculties, which have therefore the right and duty to determine under what conditions any college activity should be carried on." (50)

These sentiments were oft repeated. The solution to the evils of football was to provide proper organizational guidance. (51) In 1927 a committee composed of J. F. Williams of Teacher's College, Curry Hicks of Massachusetts Agricultural College, C. W. Savage of Oberlin College, and J. W. Wilce of Ohio State developed a set of goals for intercollegiate athletics. First on their list was that "coaches /were/ to be members of the faculty, with a seat on the same, assigned usually to Physical Education, on a full-time basis." (52) Through incorporation with physical education, it was hoped that university control and an educational redirection of athletics could be achieved. Faculty opposition could be quelled.

In retrospect, the AAUP could not speak very vigorously against athletics if their control was given "to one of their own." Physical education had, in fact, been recognized by the AAUP as early as 1916. J. E. Raycroft of Princeton served on various academic committees. (53) After him other physical education faculty were also accepted within the AAUP ranks. Through incorporation of faculty within the "new control mechanisms" of athletics, university leadership could point to the constructive changes taking place while continuing to reap the beneficial resources they perceived football to be drawing.

The process involved may be akin to cooptation. We are all familiar with cooptation when an organization includes within its ranks a "token minority" to reduce pressure from that vocal minority group and from bad publicity which may ultimately affect the organization's resource flow. By including a critic or members of the critical group, environmental stress on the organization may be reduced regardless of the actual impact that the coopted member may have. (54)

In reviewing the steps taken by such universities as Columbia, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, New York University, and Syracuse, Savage in 1931 cautioned that plans for reform which incorporated athletics into physical education departments would not necessarily lead to real reform. His was a "wait see" attitude. Judgment as to the educational efficacy of such an organizational response would have to come with time. (55)

The seeming inaction of physical education and university leadership following the Carnegie Report of 1929 signaled a continuation of the connection between physical education and intercollegiate athletics. It is interesting to note that though the report required 3½ years to complete, it was unfortunately released on October 24, 1929, one day after a $4 billion paper loss on the New York Stock Exchange. Financial conditions at the close of our period of study may have ensured the maintenance of athletics on the campus. The flow of resources into the university and physical education had to be smoothed and maintained. The requirements of these formal organizations and their derived goal of survival may have contributed to the deaf ears which seemingly received the report.

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# COLLEGE FOOTBALL'S OLDEST RIVALRY--COMMERCIALISM VERSUS EDUCATION

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One of the most intriguing sports stories of all time is the development of big-time intercollegiate football in the United States and the apparent helplessness of academic leaders in coping with the commercialization of a schoolboys' game. The purpose of this study is to examine the commercial growth of intercollegiate football at a few leading universities in the United States and to determine what the response was of academic leaders to this growth.

The approach taken here is to examine the early days of football at two universities, Harvard, one of the so-called big three eastern schools (along with Princeton and Yale), and Michigan, a leader in the Midwest. When the discussion moves to the booming 1920s, the focus is upon the Big Ten Conference. The commercial growth during the past 25 years is depicted by statistics released in National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) reports. Academic response is measured in light of the participation of university presidents in the deliberations of the NCAA.

## College Football in the East

There were informal, student-sponsored challenge matches played at a few private colleges in the United States in the 1870s, the buds of rivalries that would soon flower. Some games drew enough local attention that an admission fee of 25¢ could be charged. The first Harvard-Yale game in history, played at Hamilton Field in New Haven in 1875, was attended by approximately 2,000 spectators. Capitalizing upon this interest, Yale charged a special admission fee of 50¢. (1)

During the 1880s, a college team in the East derived its income from student and alumni donations, merchandise or money received from local merchants, and gate receipts. A familiar event during the fall term was the convening of a mass rally on campus to generate enough money for the football team to meet its expenses. Alumni often volunteered their services to coach the alma mater. As public interest in football grew and winning became extremely important, many schools conducted a pre-season training camp to condition the men. A training table was served to nourish them during the season. Management of the team's finances was taken out of the hands of students and assigned to a full-time director of outdoor sports. Newspaper editors, recognizing the growing enthusiasm for college football, amplified it by devoting increased coverage to the teams. Railroads offered reduced fares to promote passenger service to the big games. America's growing cities became fertile ground for staging these athletic contests because of the potential for large crowds and thus, financial gain.

University academic leaders were disturbed by the mass public interest in college football and the continuous incidents of deception by students seeking victory at any cost. They looked longingly to Europe for ideas on how to maintain order in intercollegiate sports since it was the European universities that had provided the model from which the system of American higher education was fashioned. Student athletics were conducted on a low key basis, with public interest centering on city and professional teams. That is the way American educators would have preferred it.

The curriculum in American colleges, like its European counterpart, was geared to the interests of the upper class, but the American colleges were open to all youth who could gain admittance. Persons of wealth and influence knew how to get their offspring or friends into college, and sometimes those friends were outstanding athletes with marginal academic interests. Grass-roots Americans could relate to these diamonds in the rough, so intercollegiate football drew its fans from all classes of American society. The European system had a highly selective enrollment, an educated elite. Since there was little grass-roots identification with the elitists, the average European's sports interests were focused on city and professional athletes. This is a key point to understanding the uniqueness of intercollegiate athletics in the United States.

## Harvard Students vs. Faculty to Control Sports

To keep athletic interests in balance with academic goals, many American colleges sought to replace student control with faculty control. At Harvard a three-man faculty Athletic Committee was appointed by President Charles Eliot in 1882. Of immediate concern was the faculty regulation prohibiting athletic contests in Cambridge before 4:00 pm or the end of the last class on Saturday. The 1882 baseball team circumvented this regulation by scheduling 19 of 28 games outside Cambridge. Eleven of the games were with professional teams. President Eliot attempted to get other colleges to agree not to play professional clubs. Since Yale did not share his concern, there was no regional agreement to proscribe the professionals. (2)

The three-man Harvard Athletic Committee consisted of Charles Norton, professor of history and fine arts, chairman; John White, assistant professor of Greek; and Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, secretary. Their first action was to dismiss the professional football coach to the distress of the players. They drew up five regulations which further incurred the wrath of players, students and recent alumni.

1. No competition with professional teams was permitted.

2. All coaches had to be approved by the committee, which meant that no professional players would be allowed to serve as coaches or managers.

3. All athletes were required to have physical examinations by Dr. Sargent, director of the gymnasium. This was interpreted to mean that some of those boys who tried out for the football, baseball and other teams might be ruled out of competition by the examination.

4. All crew members had to be able to swim. Since the college had no pool, students did not have many chances to learn to swim. They had had good crew members in the past who were not good swimmers.

5. All matches outside Cambridge were to be played on Saturday unless prior approval of the committee was granted. This was seen as a serious restriction since several Saturdays of bad weather might wipe out an entire season. (3)

Sargent visited faculty members at other schools in the area (Princeton, Yale, Columbia, Amherst, Williams, etc.), securing some agreement on a common set of rules. Then he and faculty representatives of nine colleges (including three college presidents) met in New York City on December 28, 1883 to discuss the regulations and agree on a plan of action. Their efforts were unsuccessful. There was a strong feeling that athletics were the prerogative of the students, yet students had not been brought into the discussion. The immediate transition from total student-alumni control to total faculty control was unsuccessful.

Students argued that they could not train themselves and the college had no one on the faculty with technical skill in sports. Student coaching could be dangerous. They might over-train or over-exercise the players. Also, Harvard would be at a disadvantage against professionally trained teams. Avoiding the word "professional," students complained that it was a pity that the committee was imbued with such horror of a specialized athlete. They gained approval in the spring of 1885 to hire an outstanding runner and coach, James Lathrop, to coach the track team. (4) Apparently their arguments about the health risks involved in student coaching were convincing.

The football seasons of 1883 and 1884 produced several fistfights and injuries, provoking the Athletic Committee to propose a ban on the sport in 1885. (5) The recommendation was approved by the faculty, prompting bitter feelings by the students. It was their team. If they had a professional coach maybe the fights and injuries wouldn't have happened. Several weekly meetings between faculty members and students were held to discuss athletic matters. This dialogue led to the restructuring of the Athletic Committee. It was expanded to include two undergraduates, one recent athletic graduate, a Boston or Cambridge physician, and the director of the gymnasium, Dudley Sargent, who was to serve as chairman.

The Athletic Committee recommended to the faculty and the president that an instructor of athletics with faculty rank be appointed. The board of overseers rejected the proposal. They saw no harm in letting those students who used the services of a skilled athlete pay for this coaching service themselves. The new committee observed a few intramural football games during the 1885 season and recommended the resumption of the sport for 1886. This was approved, primarily because of relentless pressure applied by students and alumni upon university administration.

Continued student and alumni dissatisfaction with the power exercised by faculty members on the Athletic Committee led the board of overseers to restructure it in 1888. The result was a committee of three faculty, three athletic alumni, and three undergraduate students, a structure that was retained at Harvard for many years. Sargent became the faculty spokesman on athletic matters, and it brought him into direct confrontation with the students. When they played several games in the same week, the faculty became irritated and called upon Sargent to restrict the playing dates and sites of Harvard teams. He did so, but his action aroused students and alumni. They wanted him off the Athletic Committee.

When Sargent's five-year appointment as assistant professor of physical training came up for renewal in the fall of 1889, it was not approved. The president and faculty had recommended a five-year reappointment, but the board of overseers rejected it. He was reappointed as director of the gymnasium, and served in that capacity until his retirement in 1919, but he never received faculty rank. (6) Without faculty status he could not serve on the Athletic Committee. The divorce between intercollegiate athletics and the gymnasium was established after a brief seven-year marriage.

In 1887 Harvard played Yale in a football game staged at the Polo Ground in New York City. A record crowd of 18,000 spectators attended, giving vivid testimony to the popularity of college football and the unpopularity of the firm stand taken by faculty members, such as Dudley Sargent, who tried to restrict this competition.

In 1899 the carpenters worked overtime to get the temporary bleachers in place at Harvard's Soldiers Field. Every inch of seating was occupied as 36,000 fans watched the home team battle Yale to a 0-0 tie. This dramatized the need for a larger stadium, and that need was fulfilled November 13, 1903. The class of '79 made the Harvard Stadium their 25th anniversary gift. A horseshoe-shaped structure of steel and concrete, somewhat like the stadium at Athens, had 27,000 permanent seats and 15,000 temporary ones that could be erected upon demand. It combined the pure classic beauty of the ancient Grecian amphitheater with the somber gladatorial mood of a Roman coliseum. (7)

The Harvard experience illustrates that while faculty at some eastern colleges attempted to control student athletics, it was the governing boards who held the final decision, and they were very sensitive to student and alumni opinions.

## College Football in the Midwest

A similar pattern is found in the early stages of college football in the Midwest where the Chicago-Michigan rivalry attracted the largest following. Their game was played annually in Chicago on Thanksgiving Day and was sponsored by the University of Michigan Alumni Association of Chicago. It drew 2,000 in 1893, 4,000 the next year, and 10,000 in 1897. The latter game was played indoors in the Coliseum. The entire profit of $3,800 went to the University Athletic Association. (8)

The hefty gate receipts from the Chicago game were certainly welcome. At an enthusiastic mass meeting on the Michigan campus just prior to the start of the 1897 season, $1,500 was subscribed to retire the debt of $1,400 which was owed by the Athletic Association. From 1894 to 1897, Michigan football teams operated at a deficit of $1,000-$1,500. The major expenditures were approximately $500 for the training table and about $600 for the salary of the alumnus who served as football coach. (9) The annual profits from the Chicago game put Michigan in the black after 1897.

Early in the 1890s the crowds were still relatively small and President James Angell of Michigan was very much in control of athletic matters. The 1892 team played a 12-game schedule, nine of which were played outside Ann Arbor. The president intervened and the rest of the Michigan football teams of that decade show a balance between home and away games.

## Michigan Students vs. Faculty to Control Sports

During the 1893 season, President Angell learned that the football team had deceived its opponents by using two outstanding high school athletes in an effort to field a stronger team. His answer was the one attempted at Harvard 10 years earlier, faculty control of athletics. The president mandated a Board in Control of Athletics composed of five professors or instructors selected from the university senate and four undergraduates chosen by the students' Athletic Association. To include the alumni in an advisory capacity, an advisory board of professors and graduates was selected also.

Incidentally, the problems experienced at Michigan were common to other universities. Knowing this, Purdue's President James Smart issued an invitation to several midwestern universities to meet in Chicago, January 11, 1895, to discuss athletic matters. The Western Intercollegiate Conference of Faculty Representatives, commonly known as the Big Ten, developed from this meeting. It gave hope to academicians who believed that faculty control of college football's commercial growth and its recruiting excesses could be achieved by uniting forces, something the eastern schools had failed to do.

President Angell believed that if students were involved in their own physical development they would become less interested in cheering for a football championship. This was an important reason why physical education was added to the University's curriculum in 1894. Attendance was elective at first and gym classes numbered as high as 200 students each. As attendance became irregular, Angell announced in 1899 that it was to be compulsory for first-year students in the Literary and Engineering Departments. (10)

Just as it had not worked for Harvard, the element of faculty control did not restrain the commercial growth of intercollegiate football at Michigan, and the required physical education program did not diminish student enthusiasm for championship teams. The 1901-1905 Michigan Wolverines won a total of 55 games, lost one, and tied one. The 1901 team beat 10 opponents, 550 points to 0. Crowds streamed into Ann Arbor to watch the games. A record 17,000 saw the final game on Regents' Field in 1905. A larger, horseshoe stadium had to be constructed for the 1906 season to accommodate the crowds. The single tie came in the 1903 game with Minnesota before 20,000 spectators at Northrop Field in Minneapolis. The lone defeat came on November 30, 1905 at Marshall Field in Chicago. A crowd of 25,791 paid admissions, the largest that had ever attended a football game in the Midwest, saw Alonzo Stagg's undefeated University of Chicago Maroons beat Fielding Yost's Wolverines 2-0 and snap the 55-game winning streak.

Football receipts in 1903 totaled $22,000 as against $6,000 expenses, registering a profit of $16,000. The 1903 receipts were typical for the period 1901-1909 at Michigan.

As the architect of this successful financial venture, coach Fielding Yost was duly rewarded. His salary rose steadily from $2,000 in 1901 to $4,000 in 1908. How did this compare with salaries paid to Michigan faculty members? Instructors in 1901 earned $1,000, assistant professors $1,500, associate professors $2,000, and full professors $2,500. This was for nine months. Yost's contract called for $2,000 for 10 weeks in the fall, and he was given free room and living expenses during that period. Thus, his salary was triple that paid to a full professor. (11)

For most colleges in the nation there was a serious interruption in the commercial growth of football between 1906 and 1919. The horrifying statistics that were released following the 1905 season showing an average of 15-20 deaths and 200 incapacitating injuries per year in college football led schools such as Wisconsin, Kentucky, Columbia, Northwestern, Union, California and others to ban the sport for varying lengths of time. The Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States was formed in 1906. (Four years later it changed its name to the National Collegiate Athletic Association or simply the NCAA.) It began to work for improvements in faculty control, the growth of conferences, elimination of season coaches, creation of rules committees, promotion of national tournaments, control of subsidization, and recruitment of athletes.

At the call of Michigan's President Angell, members of the Big Ten Conference met and proposed regulations that would reduce commercialization and various malpractices at their member institutions. The regulations included barring freshmen from competition; reducing the number of football games from seven to five; requiring athletes to be bona fide students in residence for one year; barring graduate students from varsity competition; fixing the admission charge to games so that all students could afford to attend; limiting varsity eligibility to three years; abolishing training tables or training quarters; eliminating coaches who were not regular faculty members; and adjusting coaching salaries so they did not exceed those paid to other faculty members of equal rank.

"The English concept of college was confessedly the ideal of the representatives of the conference," wrote the editor of the Michigan Alumnus. "These regulations will start us on the long way back toward the healthier practice of the Englishmen." (12)

The dominant belief among Michigan students and alumni was that the rules came down harder on their team and coach than they did on any other school. They concluded that the rest of the Conference was jealous of Michigan's athletic prowess. Several student rallies were staged on the Ann Arbor campus to call for the school's withdrawal from the Conference. Michigan would look to the East for its competition. Pennsylvania, Cornell and Syracuse fielded powerful teams. By beating them, Michigan would, in the words of Fielding Yost, "win the championship of the world."

All of the university's regents were invited to speak at these rallies. Four of the eight accepted and told the crowd what they came to hear. Michigan would not be deprived of its athletic excellence by jealous schools that were either unable or unwilling to match this quality. Athletic matters should be left to the students, not faculty members.

Three months later, the Big 10 Conference adopted the regulations and Michigan's faculty concurred with the action. Engaged students and alumni took their case directly to the regents, calling for Michigan's withdrawal from the Big Ten. The regents unanimously supported the student position and summoned Judge Victor Lane, chairman of the Board in Control, to inform him of their position. Judge Lane relayed their message to the board's other four faculty members, but they disregarded it, saying that they and the university faculty strongly favored the regulations. They were responsible to the university senate, not the regents.

Determined to have their way, the regents concluded that the Board in Control had been improperly constituted, and passed a resolution calling for its re-creation. The new faculty appointments would be made by the deans and the president, not the university senate, and the regents made it clear that they wanted faculty members who were in sympathy with student views. They reiterated their belief that the games belonged to the students, not to the faculty. This time they got their wish. The newly-structured board voted 5-3 to withdraw Michigan's membership from the Big Ten Conference. (13)

In succeeding years an attempt was made to establish popular rivalries with Pennsylvania, Syracuse and Cornell, but these intersectional games didn't draw spectators the way the rivalries with Chicago, Wisconsin and Minnesota had. The plan to become the world champion never materialized either. The best the Wolverines could do with its eastern opponents was to trade victories. In 1917 a humbled Michigan returned quietly to the Big Ten.

## Big Ten Football Boom in the 20s

The commercial growth of intercollegiate football in the 1920s dwarfed all that had preceded it. You will recall that Michigan football grossed $22,000 in 1903 and showed a net profit of $16,000. Twenty-six years later (1929) the figures were $681,000 gross and a net profit of $509,000. The growth was not a steady ascent. 1901-1905 were boom years, but the World War I years were a bust. The 1919 season ended with a deficit of $16,000 due primarily to the poor showing of the team and the austerity required by the war effort. There was a nice recovery in 1920 building to three seasons, 1927, 1928, and 1929, when the profits averaged a half million dollars per season.

This astonishing growth was a result of many factors. Railroad spurs continued to feed into stadiums. The automobile transformed what had been a male outing into a family excursion to the stadium. Radio broadcasts and increased newspaper coverage fed the enthusiasm of seasoned football followers and nurtured the curiosity of neophytes, beckoning them all to the stadium. Postwar prosperity put the cost of this entertainment within the reach of many pocketbooks. A nation-wide demand for tickets to college football games ushered in a boom period of stadium expansion.

Glowing accounts of each newly-completed stadium traveled the country challenging hundreds of universities to keep apace. The Yale Bowl built in 1913 and seating 70,000 served as the model for many of the newly constructed edifices. The University of Washington took the Yale model west and built a 50,000 seat stadium. In the Midwest, Ohio State built its stadium in 1922 seating 60,000. The University of Illinois countered with Memorial Stadium in 1923 seating 70,000. It stood as a monument to war heroes and provided a stage for the sport heroics of Red Grange. The Ohio State Stadium cost $1.5 million, Illinois $1,8 million. They were paid for primarily through gifts and subscriptions.

The larger stadiums gave many universities the facilities they needed to capitalize on the prosperity of the 1920s. In the Big Ten, Michigan, Ohio State, Illinois, Chicago and Minnesota showed profits in the quarter-million dollar range during the 1920s. Coming in dead last by a wide margin were Purdue and Indiana with net earnings of $40,000-$60,000 in 1924 and 1925 and peaking to $130,000 in 1928 and 1929. Indiana fell back to $50,000 in 1934 and 1935 while Purdue stayed near the $1,000 mark. Chicago slid from near the top of the Big Ten moneymakers through 1928 to seventh place in 1929. By 1935 Chicago had joined Indiana at the bottom of the Big Ten with a net football profit of just $55,000. In 1939 Chicago had net earnings of $14,000 as compared with $300,000 for Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio State and Northwestern. (14)

The existence of stadiums at Illinois and Ohio State in 1924, with seating capacities nearly twice that of Michigan's, was intolerable to Fielding Yost. When he joined the university faculty in 1921 as athletic director, football seating was increased from 21,000 to 46,000. Ticket demands continued to exceed the seating by a wide margin. Increased football revenue in 1920 and 1921 enabled Michigan to construct a fieldhouse and add several new minor sports with Fielding Yost directing the project. As it neared completion, he worked behind the scenes orchestrating a successful campaign to have the building named for himself. Yost Field House was dedicated in 1923 on a football Saturday.

As late as October 1924, Michigan's board of regents was firmly opposed to building a large stadium. In the words of Frank E. Robbins, assistant to Michigan's President Marion Burton, "The Regents believe that amateur collegiate contests should not be transformed into a public spectacle, that intercollegiate athletics should primarily be conducted for the students and alumni of the competing institutions, their friends, and families, and that the construction of a great stadium which would permit of huge crowds at the important games would be for this very reason impracticable in a small city like Ann Arbor." On October 22, 1927, three years later, an entirely new stadium (Michigan Stadium) on a new site was dedicated as Michigan defeated Ohio State 21-0 before 85,000 fans. What happened in that three-year period to change the regents' attitude?

On May 11, 1925 the senate council of the Michigan faculty was asked by the Board in Control of Athletics to approve a new stadium. The request met with heated opposition. University President Clarence Little told one of the regents that a canvass of the university senate showed the majority of them believed football should be abolished. "I knew that used to be the case," the regent replied, "but I supposed time had put some red blood into the anatomies of some of the ultra-erudite." The Michigan campus was no exception on this matter. President Little said he knew of three presidents of Big Ten Conference schools who wanted football abolished. Two of them would settle for reducing the number of games to three, and one proposed that only seniors be allowed on the football team. The regent replied to President Little, "I'm not sure whether all this is due to the building of great stadia, the publicity and prosperity that attended Red Grange's professional debut, or the jealousy and contempt that our own 'shrinking violet,' Brother Yost, has generated among rival schools." (15)

The Senate Council did not approve the stadium request and asked the president to appoint a senate committee to study the entire athletic situation. This was done quickly. The five-man committee, led by Edmund Day, dean of the School of Business, took 1½ years to complete its extensive investigation and written report, referred to as the Day Report. It was considered to be one of the finest documents of its day, describing the purposes, practices and needs of intercollegiate athletics in the 1920s.

While the Day Committee gathered information, Fielding Yost disseminated it by the ton. Michigan football teams had won conference championships in 1922 and 1923 and were to win it again in 1925. Yost knew that the students, alumni and others supported the idea of a new stadium. Within a few months he had several influential newspaper editors across the state also supporting him.

His well-conceived plan was to answer critics of the stadium by showing that their definition of the university was too narrow. They wanted to confine the audience at intercollegiate football games to Michigan students, faculty, alumni and a minimum of other people. "When you asked the state legislature for a larger budget recently," Yost reminded the president and regents, "you told them that the university belongs to the people." He reasoned that those people included legislators and the governor, all of whom had a right to attend Michigan games. The regents began lining up in support of Yost, one saying, "I hope your plan for a larger stadium goes through. Incidentially, thank you for handling that last-minute request for tickets to the Navy game." (16)

A letter was sent by Yost to alumni groups across the country requesting petitions of support, and he assisted in getting favorable articles published in the alumni magazine. The alumni rallied behind him.

The Day Report, which was presented in January 1926 and received the regents' formal approval on April 22, recommended a new stadium on a new site. Just as Yost had predicted, the decision was delayed but not denied. The major arguments against the stadium were that it concentrated too much time, money and attention on too few students. The Day Report concluded that an intramural building and a women's athletic building should be built concurrently with the stadium.

Within three years Michigan had a new stadium seating 70,000 (temporary bleachers that could accommodate 15,000 were occasionally added), a women's athletic building, and a spacious intramural building.

One of the reasons why the Michigan faculty approved the new stadium was that a new university president was appointed in 1925 and he was determined to exercise a strong control over athletics. Twenty percent of Dr. Clarence Little's inaugural address was devoted to major concerns about athletics. He was offered, and accepted, a seat on the newly-structural Board in Control of Athletics. He advocated increasing the number of varsity sports and expanding intramurals in keeping with a national trend. The hope lingered among educators that intercollegiate football could be kept in check if more students were active participants in sports. As a matter of fact, President Little wanted to see two varsity football teams instead of one. This would eliminate cross-country travel by students and fans. When Michigan played Minnesota in 1925, there would be a game on each campus. This brainstorm failed for two reasons--it was financially impractical for most schools to play nine games home and nine away, and coaches put their best players on one varsity team, making the other game a meaningless B-team match played before empty seats.

President Little resigned in 1930. He was the last Michigan president to become intimately involved in the management of intercollegiate athletics.

It is intriguing to speculate why a faculty concerned about overemphasis on winning football games should encumber the athletic budget with three major construction projects which could be paid for only if the football team continued to be of championship caliber and filled the stadium. Perhaps they saw the huge debt as a "governor" that would force the football program to throttle down its growth. Instead of feeding huge profits back into the football program, they would be paying for major construction costs for many years to come.

The commercial growth of college football in the 1920s shook the foundations of higher education. In 1916 the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) had adopted a resolution to petition a large foundation to survey intercollegiate athletics. Thus, some years later, the Carnegie Foundation authorized the study, American College Athletics, with the endorsement of the NCAA, the Association of American Colleges and other organizations. This study, published in 1929 under the direction of Howard Savage, indicted college football on dozens of counts of deceit, distortion and professionalism.

The Carnegie report looked to the British system of school and college athletics as the model for American schools. In the foreword to the report, Savage wrote:

> At all British universities games and sports are an important part of the educational process, but they are essentially casual. With few exceptions, the major emphasis of British university student opinion sustains academic work and the group of activities connected with it rather than games. In Great Britain sport, like education, has not yet reached mass development. Sport is still an affair of individuals. . . . In the United States, college athletics are not so much activities of undergraduate life as joint cooperative enterprises involving presidents, trustee, faculties, alumni, townsmen, and the vast publics of the radio and the press. . . . As matters now stand the fundamental purpose of athletics is not educational but financial and commercial. (17)

Neither the Carnegie report nor the direct intervention of university presidents could abate the growth of intercollegiate football. The Depression and World War II slowed its pace, but good times returned.

## The Contemporary Scene

The commercial growth of intercollegiate football in recent years has seen most big-time programs develop a multimillion dollar budget. Texas, Georgia Tech and UCLA spent from $2.0 to $2.5 million in 1974. Smaller programs such as the Mid-America Conference's Ohio University were in the $750,000 range while Ivy Leaguers such as Cornell budgeted about $200,000.

Income was derived from five major sources: gate receipts, television monies, student activity fees, booster club donations, and receipts from foundations.

Football attendance declined nationally by nearly 2.5 million during the Korean War period, 1950-1953, but it climbed every year except one since that time. Figures for 1950-1976 show the 1960s to have had the greatest increase. (18) The prosperity of the 1960s was reflected in the trend to renovate stadiums, replace natural turf with a synthetic one and increase seating. Tulsa University spent $300,000 for such a facelift; this was $30,000 more than the stadium itself cost when built in 1930.

The growth of gate receipts in college football was concentrated at the top. Seven conferences--the Big Ten, Southeastern, Big Eight, Pacific 8, Southwest, Atlantic Coast and Western Athletic--drew 15.7 million, or 49.1 percent of the 32 million national attendance figure. (19)

Since 1958 either Michigan or Ohio State has led the nation in football attendance. Ohio State was on top for 14 consecutive years before Michigan ended this streak in 1972. Ohio State won again in 1973, then Michigan took over in 1974, with an average of 93,684. Then began a streak of consecutive 100,000 crowds. At the end of the 1977 season, Michigan had attracted over 100,000 spectators to 16 consecutive home games. Following the 1977 season, Michigan's total number of 100,000 plus crowds stood at 34.

Tennessee enlarged its stadium in 1976 and moved up to the third spot at 80,703, while Nebraska dropped to fourth despite its record streak of 87 sellouts. Others in the top 10 are Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Louisiana State, Missouri, Texas, and Notre Dame. An all-time high of 43 teams surpassed 40,000 per game, but only about 70 schools in the nation had gate receipts adequate enough to enable them to operate their football programs in the black.

Television revenues increased faster than any other source of income for the big-time football schools. With attendance down in 1952, the NCAA adopted a program of limited live television. During the first 14 years modest profits were derived. Since 1966 ABC-TV has held the contract and it has become very lucrative. In 1976 NCAA's participating members received $18 million in television rights. About $2 million of it went into NCAA's treasury where it filtered down to nearly all 634 member institutions through sports promotion programs funded by NCAA; the remaining $16 million were remitted to the institutions whose teams appeared on the telecasts.

UCLA had television income from football in 1970 totaling $257,000. The figure increased to $416,000 in 1971. Many conferences divide the revenue among their members according to a planned formula. The Southeastern Conference policy is to divide the proceeds 14 ways. The Conference office receives one share, the teams playing the televised game receive two each, and the remaining nine teams receive one share each. The Big Eight Conference splits the pot similarly. The more good teams it fields, the more television exposure it is likely to get, to the benefit of all members of the conference. Iowa State estimated that it may have cost its budget $200,000 when the 1973 Oklahoma team was suspended and prevented from accepting a bowl bid or appearing on a football telecast.

During the late 1960s and early '70s when student protests were the norm on college campuses, use of the activity fee to finance athletics was called into question. For most of the nation's colleges this was the major source of funds for conducting the athletic program. Students at San Jose State, Colorado State, Kansas, and other universities voted to discontinue giving part of their fee to athletics. The board of regents for Illinois state universities contemplated barring use of state funds for athletic scholarships. This action was damaging for schools of moderate income, but big-time football schools such as Alabama, Illinois, Michigan, Michigan State, Texas, USC, and UCLA separated themselves from reliance upon any state funds and, in many cases, student fees.

Historically, alumni have played a major role in supporting college football, and this continues to be the case at the major university level. The NCAA's 1970 study on intercollegiate athletic costs reported that major football programs averaged $116,000 per year in alumni contributions. Some schools fared far better than others. In 1960 Missouri raised $400,000; in 1965 Ohio State $1 million; in 1970 Florida raised $225,000 and USC $300,000. (20)

Some universities established foundations funded by wealthy alumni or friends. The University of Illinois relies upon its foundation to pay the costs of 30 football scholarships annually. The University of Miami (Florida) was given $1 million by a millionairess who specified that the money was to be used for football scholarships. That is probably the simplest way to establish a stable foundation.

## High Costs of College Football

Balancing this sketch of income used to finance intercollegiate football is the reality of costs. Certain big-time schools spend as much in one line of their budget as many colleges use to finance their varsity, intramural and club sports programs. Michigan State spent $500,000 on grant-in-aids during 1974 for all sports, with football taking the largest share; Georgia Tech's grant-in-aid costs were close to $600,000. Texas spent $400,000 for scholarships in 1970.

The University of Texas spent $75,000 on recruiting for all sports in 1969, with the vast majority going to football. (21) In 1973 Florida's recruiting bill was $60,000 while Georgia Tech's was $86,000. Ohio State spent $40,000 for telephone calls alone, mostly on football recruiting.

The rate of inflation in the late 1960s and early 1970s priced football out of the reach of some schools and sent the rest scampering in search of new funding ideas. Sports Illustrated reported that at least 42 had discontinued the sport during the 1960s. (22) Denver, Detroit and Buffalo fell by the wayside in 1970 claiming they had been losing between $60,000-$100,000 per year. Bradley, with $600,000 indebtedness, and the University of California at Santa Barbara with $480,000 indebtedness, fell in 1971. Eighteen other schools dropped football in the 1969-1974 period.

Some lost money but not hope. Cincinnati lost $400,000 in 1970 and 1971; Villanova lost $300,000 in 1971. The University of Florida grossed $1.1 million in 1969 but lost $800,000. Minnesota faced a deficit of $400,000 in 1972. Inflation drove Notre Dame to break its 45-year-old tradition against playing in bowl games.

Some schools economized by reducing the budgets of sports that operated at a deficit. One of the justifications that apologists had offered for big-time football was that its income brought athletics-for-all closer to reality. That may be changing. Woody Hayes told news reporters in 1976, "It's time for the 28 other sports in Ohio State's athletic program to go out and earn their own way. I'm tired of carrying everyone around on our shoulders." (23)

A few schools tried what could not have been whispered in the 1920s. They rented their stadiums to professional teams. The University of California at Berkeley rented to the Oakland Raiders for two games in 1972, '73 and '74, receiving $30,000, a percentage of any gate exceeding $400,000, and the concession sales. Tulane rented its stadium to the New Orleans Saints. The Big Ten Conference approved a rental policy for exhibition games only. Michigan rented once to the Detroit Lions. When Northwestern proposed a pact in which they had tentatively agreed to rent their stadium to the Chicago Bears for regular season games, the Conference refused to grant approval. Part of the reasoning was the constant threat professional football posed to the college market. The NCAA and the

National Federation of High School Athletic Associations had fought several legislative and legal battles contesting professional football's attempts to televise games on Fridays and Saturdays during the regular season.

Some coaches advocated that spokespersons for college football should stop hiding behind the pretense of amateurism. Penn State's Joe Paterno said, "Why not admit it? We're pros without the huge salaries."

Bob Devaney, Nebraska's athletic director, spoke for many when he said, "Like it or not, we're competing with the pros for the entertainment dollar." Devaney called for the top 70 football schools to create a special division of the NCAA. "That way we could compete very successfully with the pros in attracting the kind of income it takes to run our intercollegiate athletic programs." "We have to take a completely new look at our product--the empty seat," said Don Canham, the director of athletics at Michigan and the prototype of tomorrow's athletic leader. "Institutions have to look at new ways of putting people in the stadium. My job is poorly described by the term athletic director. What I am is a sports promoter. Either I promote our sports programs solidly into the black or I'm out of a job." With 16 consecutive home crowds of 100,000 plus, Canham's merchandising techniques are being studied and copied by athletic departments nationwide. "What really set Don apart," says a football coach at another Big Ten School, "was his early awareness that college sports are no longer fun and games, but a multimillion dollar campus industry." (24)

## University Presidents' Involvement in the NCAA, Creation of a Super Division

High costs were just one of the challenges facing intercollegiate football in the 1960 and '70s. Recruiting violations were discovered at numerous schools. When wholesale irregularities were found in Long Beach State University's basketball program, Coach Jerry Tarkanian moved to a lucrative coaching position at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, leaving the athletes and the university to suffer through a NCAA probation. This was not an unusual occurrence in the history of intercollegiate athletics. Recruiting scandals are a common thread interwoven throughout the past 100 years of intercollegiate football's history. What made the Long Beach situation unique was the action taken by its president, Stephen Horn. He launched a campaign to attract college presidents to take an active role in the supervision of athletics through participation in the NCAA.

Next, he sought to get legislation passed that would have taken television money away from the rich schools and given it to the poor. This Robin Hood measure failed. With Stanford President Richard Lyman, he began working for a scholarship program that would be based upon need, estimating that such a plan would save $100,000-$200,000 for many universities. It would eliminate room and board scholarships altogether. Tuition and fees would be awarded to athletes who could prove need. The proposal made its way to the floor for a vote in 1976 and was narrowly defeated 120-112. The major spokesperson for the proposal was Stanford's Lyman. Its most eloquent opponent was Rev. Edmund P. Joyce, executive vice president of Notre Dame. It was Joyce's eleventh-hour plea that brought out the votes needed to defeat the measure. In 1977 it came to the floor again but lost by an even greater margin, 146-102. (25)

Father Joyce argued that just because the need-based system worked for most students did not mean it would work for blue chip football and basketball players. "There is a considerable difference," he said, "between non-athletes and the athletes who are sought out by universities in highly competitive recruiting. It is difficult to see anything immoral about giving room, board, and tuition," Joyce continued, "to young men who work hard in sports and from whom a university stands to gain a great deal."

Although his financial legislative proposals failed, Horn's campaign to get the presidents involved in the NCAA conventions enjoyed success. There were 70-75 in attendance at the 1976 (St. Louis) and 1977 (Miami, Florida) conventions. Prior to 1976, it was rare to see more than one or two university presidents at these meetings. At the 1977 convention Horn proposed measures that would have increased drastically the power of university presidents in the NCAA. The measures would have guaranteed chief executives half of all the seats on two important bodies--the 18-member council and the executive committee. In 1977 there were no presidents on the executive committee and only one on the council. Although defeated, these proposals served as a warning to athletic directors that the chief executives were determined to play a major role in the NCAA. (In 1978 there were two presidents on the council.) "We just didn't have our act together yet," said Ross Pritchard, president of Arkansas State University. "There is a general feeling that we have to be much better organized earlier to be effective." (26)

The convention did give the presidents a slightly greater voice by providing seats for presidents on three internal bodies called "divisional steering committees."

Another measure that attracted nationwide attention in 1977 and 1978 was the attempt by the major universities to establish a Super Division in the NCAA for the big-time football schools. The organization underwent a major restructuring in 1973 when it formed three divisions, allowing greater autonomy for universities of differing financial support and athletic philosophy. Division II and II members seemed to be compatible with each other, but the big football schools of Division I felt that the Ivy Leaguers and other small football schools in their division represented a serious threat to their interests. The bigger institutions were making money on their football programs while the smaller colleges in Division I were imposing limitations on them because they could not afford to keep up. Even though the need-based scholarships and similar legislation had been defeated, they felt the proposals would return to the floor. If passed, they would lower the quality of big-time football.

In 1978 the restructuring was approved by Division I by a vote of 82-73. Only those schools having a home stadium with at least 30,000 permanent seats and averaging at least 17,000 spectators at home games during one of the preceding four years would be members of Super Division I-A for football. The remaining schools would be classified as Division I members. The final tally appeared to give big football its Super Division, but an important amendment was added opening the back door through which numerous smaller institutions in the Division will be able to get into the elite I-A group. Sponsored by the Ivy League colleges, Colgate University and the College of William and Mary, the amendment allows schools to bypass the stadium and attendance requirements if they can field men's varsity teams in 12 sports vs. Division I-A teams. A Pomona College official was precisely on target when he said, "The big universities are caught between educational experiences they'd like to pursue and a fight with the pros for the entertainment dollar." (27)

## Summary

Leafing through the pages of history we find that the informal challenge matches played by student football teams in the 1870s quickly lost their informality. To finance their program, students adopted an organizational structure and practices that made their games worthy of public display. In so doing they laid the foundation blocks upon which a giant sports industry was built. For many years the spokespersons for intercollegiate football fought to maintain that it was an amateur enterprise. More recently some are frank to admit the obvious. College football is a multi-million dollar industry and its players are poorly-paid professionals.

In dealing with this commercial growth, academic faculties and administrators longed for a system of athletics like that found in British universities. Their efforts to move closer to the British model were blunted by the governing boards of universities who were more sensitive to student, alumni and general public opinion on athletic matters than to faculty opinion. The best that some academicians could do to restrain the growth of intercollegiate football was to encumber its gate receipts with the debts incurred in a general expansion of facilities and programs to encourage athletics for all students. Recently, university presidents have taken an active role in NCAA deliberations as part of a determined effort to give direction to the intercollegiate sports industry.

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# COLLEGE ATHLETICS IN THE TWENTIES: THE GOLDEN AGE OR FOOL'S GOLD

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When Americans think of the 1920s, their first reaction is usually the "Roaring Twenties," a time of carefree, high living and economic boom, and the Chicago mob. Their second thought is often parallel, the "Golden Age of Sports" in the United States. Until the prominent rise of professional sports in the late 1950s and the glut of televised sport coverage in the 1960s and 70s, the Golden Age of Sport really was the 1920s. One problem of prospectors for gold, of course, is the discovery of iron pyrites instead, "fool's gold." Looking more closely at college sport during the twenties, one might be tempted to conclude that rather than an age of gold, college athletics really went through an age of fool's gold.

The author will attempt to answer several questions. First, what caused this vast outpouring of sporting fervor? What factors contributed to this unprecedented groundswell of sport in a nation that had shown considerable sporting interests for several centuries before this time? Second, what were the symptoms of this sporting boom? Third, what was the place of sport in the educational system and how did it affect physical education? Fourth, using the famous 1929 Carnegie Foundation report as a gauge, what influence did the commercialization of collegiate sport have on the intellectual and economic aspects of American colleges and universities? Fifth, what lessons might be found in this period of sporting history? and Finally, what are the research opportunities in the sport of the 1920s?

## Causes of Boom in Collegiate Sport

A number of factors apparently coalesced during the late teens and early twenties to give impetus to the rise of sport across the nation. Factors which preceded World War I included a growing interest in athletics which was strongly reflected on the collegiate scene. Intercollegiate sports had become a sufficiently large operation that a national organization was conceived in 1906 to try to control its direction and emphasis. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) was formed originally in response to problems in college football, but its interests were far broader. Intercollegiate sports had already been growing well before the war; after the war, interest in college athletics abounded.

Coupled with the already strong interest in intercollegiate athletics was the development of intramural athletics, seen partly as a way to train people for intercollegiate athletics and partly as a sports outlet to involve more people in athletics than could be accommodated by college teams. Led by the example of the University of Michigan, departments of intramural sports began to appear shortly before World War I. The philosophy which was beginning to develop was one of sports for all. The result was a strong student interest in competitive sports, with some schools reporting that as many as 80 percent of their students were participating in sports at some level.

Women's sports were also developing during this time, moving from the lower intramural level toward intercollegiate programs. In fact, during the 1920s interest increased in many areas regarding women, perhaps partly as a result of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women voting rights and putting them more into the mainstream of civic life. This era of women's expanded rights, coupled with a time of prosperity, enabled women to experiment and determine the limits imposed by the new times.

At the same time, there was a reaction against women's athletics, so while men's sports were expanding rapidly, women's programs were often disappearing with equal rapidity, largely under the leadership of women physical educators who feared that physical and psychological stresses might result from highly competitive programs. While the men's programs in the 20s were moving toward more national and international competition, the women's programs in the United States were often moving backward past the intramural level to a play day concept which was even less competitive than intramurals, even as women elsewhere were moving on to international competition.

Sport competition was also influenced by the expansion of physical competition. During this period the older, more formal gymnastic programs of physical training, with their rigidity and lack of individuality, were beginning to be replaced by the New Physical Education preached by Thomas Denison Wood and Rosalind Cassidy in their 1927 text. (1) Sometimes considered the American plan of physical education, this new system called for the inclusion of sports and games in the physical education program. Its seeds were sown before 1900, but just barely, for remember that games and sports were not even discussed as a possible part of the physical education curriculum during the Boston Conference of 1889. Developing gradually, the major steps were taken in the 1920s. Sports and games were becoming accepted by physical educators as a legitimate part of the educational curriculum, which made it easier to justify the inclusion of intercollegiate athletics as part of the educational activities of colleges and universities.

The sports boom was also helped along by the expansion of media coverage. The 1920s saw the development of news bureaus to get publicity for the colleges. Sports was a good medium for this task, and they were not hesitant in using it. Sports was not the only area of the college which they publicized, but it was the most widely accepted by the media. At the same time college alumni groups were beginning to organize to boost their schools. The twenties was the Age of Babbitt, the Chamber of Commerce boosterism applied to everything. The alumni retained few tangible school interests, except perhaps for the success of school teams. The colleges used sports to get to the alumni who might otherwise be difficult to approach financially. The colleges were quick to use sports for its fund-raising side effects and its reputation-building possibilities.

Sports more than ever became popular entertainment. First as journalistic endeavors, then as radio and motion picture characters, athletes came more than ever into the public eye. The media clasped sport to its bosom, making reputations coast to coast in syndicated newspaper coverage. The twenties also became a radio age. The first commercial station opened in Pittsburgh in 1920, broadcast its first sporting event in 1921, and by 1924 the World Series could be heard from coast to coast. Football games became weekly media events. By 1927 there were 6½ million radio sets in the nation; the following year that number increased to 10 million.

However, despite these contributory factors, an even greater impetus came from World War -- not from the war itself, but several developments which were either a part or a result of the war. First and most notable was the astonishingly high rate at which American men failed to pass the physical requirements for entry into the armed forces. For a nation which had always prided itself on its national strength, this was a cruel blow. Its impact was similar to the impact of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 on the French, for France's humiliating defeat by the Germans convinced Baron Pierre de Coubertin that his country was suffering from the weakness of its youths. He looked outward at a British model, then worked for decades to develop the Olympic movement as a challenge to French youth.

Americans saw that physical education programs were needed to combat the physical weakness of its youth. The armed forces thus decided to use competitive athletics, a highly successful approach it had employed extensively as a builder of physical strength and morale. However, the military had not anticipated the postwar effect of its heavy use of athletics among the troops. For the first time, many young men were exposed to a large variety of sporting activities. Upon returning home, their interest in many of these sports continued, resulting in a great increase in sport competition across the country, much of it in sports not previously widely contested. Some of the sporting enthusiasts returned to introduce these sports to the colleges while others competed at non-school levels.

After the war the Olympic Games began to expand considerably--women's events were added during the 1920s, over the objections of Coubertin, and soon thereafter the Winter Olympics were begun. Some of the women's problems came from this expansion, for many people considered their competition at this level indecorous. The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) attempted to take charge of women's athletics at this time, and the opposition of female physical educators to competitive athletics for women was to a considerable degree a defensive response to the AAU's attempt to gain more power.

The final factor in the sports boom of the 1920s, perhaps the greatest factor, was economic: the United States went through a sustained economic boom which lasted for fully a decade, with little indication to the public that it would ever reverse. The American people had become more conscious of themselves as a part of the outside world at a time when much of the world was going through economically difficult times. The contrast tended to build national complacency. The mark of the 1920s was adventure and escapism. People wanted to try new things, to have adventures, to be entertained. Sports helped in meeting many of these needs.

The twenties had everything ready to provoke a massive boom in sports at all levels: public interest, financial opportunity, exposure of large masses to new sports, expanded opportunities for media coverage, and a time of public interest in new things. All that remained was to take advantage of the situation, which the colleges did. Intercollegiate sport suddenly became one of the hottest sporting scenes in the world.

## Symptoms of Sport Boom

What were the symptoms of the sporting craze during the 1920s? Guy Lewis (2) has detailed a rather clear idea of the basic progress of intercollegiate athletics, showing us many of these symptoms, which we need first to look at dispassionately with no regard to whether they were necessarily good or bad directions for sport to take. Perhaps the most noticeable changes were in what John Richards Betts called "King Football," for football was the king of sports in the 1920s, at least in the colleges. (3) The twenties was a time of massive building programs in athletic facilities, with enough large football stadiums built for critics of athletics to complain that the United States had become an imperial Rome, with its coliseums and gladiators fighting to entertain the decadent masses, who were attired in skin of raccoon rather than togas and drank from the monogrammed hip flask rather than from the common cup of wine. The age of the concrete stadium had come to college athletics, as had the Big Game, which might mean attendance of well over seventy or eighty thousand people at a football game. In 10 years the stadium capacity of 135 prominent colleges and universities in the United States had increased from a combined figure of under 1 million seats to over 2½ million seats. Furthermore, the annual football attendance doubled, reaching 20 million spectators a year by 1929.

The percentage of students participating in intercollegiate and intramural athletics was increasing dramatically, according to school reports, so the interest among students was apparently at least as great as among non-students. Attendance at contests increased rapidly despite much higher priced tickets.

New sports were appearing and beginning to hold national collegiate championships. The colleges had provided championship meets for high schools before the war, but the state high school federations were becoming more omnipresent. The National Federation was formed in the 1920s to try to prevent high schools from acquiring the problems and abuses which were increasingly apparent in intercollegiate sports.

As was mentioned, media coverage was becoming a vastly expanded characteristic of twenties sport, with colorful sports reporters vying to outdo each others' descriptions of events of the day. It was at this time that some leading public figures claimed that the best newspaper reportage was on the sports pages . . . not necessarily the most accurate prose, but certainly the most interesting.

A reflection of the extent of sports interest can be seen simply by wandering through the pages of the *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature* for the years of the decade. Around 1920 the number of articles on sport cited in popular magazines is small, but by 1925 this was no longer the case. With football as an example, we gradually go from a year with perhaps half a dozen articles to a time when the articles are counted by the page, double-columned, numbering in the scores and appearing even in such magazines as the *Literary Digest*. To be sure, they were by no means all in favor of sports; many were critical of the overemphasis on athletics. Nonetheless, athletics was coming in for a huge share of the popular spotlight. The peak perhaps was reached with an article which the *Saturday Evening Post* considered unusual enough to publish on November 1, 1930: "I Have Never Seen a Football Game."

The controversies were many. Are the athletes meeting proper scholarship standards? Does athletics belong in the college program? Is competition out of hand? Are athletics corrupt? Have college athletics become big business? and so forth. The controversy seemed never ending until it was capped by the release of the 1929 Carnegie Report, which will be discussed later.

## Status of Sport in Education

One clear aspect of the boom in athletics was that sport was increasingly absorbed as a legitimate part of the educational experience provided by the schools, not just at the college level, but at the high school level and even lower. This is not to say that it was a good or bad trend; it simply was a trend. Clearly it was a controversial one, for the periodicals of the day spent much time arguing whether an absorption of sports programs into schools was proper or beneficial. However, while they argued, they continued to absorb and expand. Apparently the only contrary argument which carried enough weight to stop the development was one of cost, but until the end of the twenties money was rarely considered a great problem. Numerous individuals of high academic repute defended athletics, pointing out that many successful teachers and scholars had been athletes and that the academic record of athletes was at least as good as that of non-athletes. By this time sport was becoming accepted as a major factor in education, even by many people of purely academic interests.

Another aspect was the expansion of physical education programs in the schools, coupled with a move to absorb athletic departments into the school (often combined with physical education). Teachers of physical education and athletic coaches, at this time still not so frequently the same people, were beginning to win acceptance as faculty members, rather than staff members on the periphery of the institution but not really fully a part of the school.

Perhaps one development often overlooked was the change which many academicians and physical educators found most threatening: the gradual replacement of the value of the struggle emphasis with the what-is-the-result emphasis, a slow loss of sport as valuable because of the means by which it is conducted, replaced by the more controversial interest primarily in the outcome. The point of the program was becoming victory rather than competition.

## The Carnegie Report

It is time now to look at some ideas expressed by the most important publication on intercollegiate athletics during the 1920s. This refers, of course, to the Twenty-Third Bulletin of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, titled American College Athletics. (4) Written by a staff member of the Foundation, Howard J. Savage, with the assistance of Harold W. Bently, John T. McGovern and Dean F. Smiley, this careful study appeared almost perfectly in conjunction with the collapse of the American stock market in 1929. In many respects, it received a similar degree of consideration among the people to whom it was addressed.

The Carnegie Foundation had studied sports in the schools twice before: in 1925, a study based only on written materials from 20 American colleges; then in 1927, studying the sports program in British schools and universities by visiting the institutions. The Foundation then began a 3½-year study of American intercollegiate athletics which included considerable research and visitation. Their written comments were not popular.

This was no attempt at a hatchet job. In the preface to the report, Harry S. Pritchett, president of the Foundation, tried to explain the Foundation's view of school athletics:

> It has been assumed that there is a legitimate place in the secondary school and in the college for organized sports, that such sports contribute, when employed in a rational way, to the development both of character and of health. The report is a friendly effort to help toward a wise solution as to the place of such sports in our educational system. It has been necessary, in order to render this service, to set forth the abuses and excesses that have grown up. This has been done with the most painstaking effort to be fair, as well as just. (5)

The report was critical of the abuses of college sport, the overemphasis upon competition, the financial shenanigans, and the lack of intellectual interest in what was supposedly an educational activity. Some of the committee's comments bear repetition and much careful thought by today's faculty and administrators.

Some comments focus on the place of athletics in the college and on the role of the school itself.

> In the United States the composite institution called a university is doubtless still an intellectual agency. But it is also a social, a commercial, and an athletic agency, and these activities have in recent years appreciably overshadowed the intellectual life for which the university is assumed to exist.
>
> In the second place, the football contest that so astonishes the foreign visitor is not a student's game, as it once was. It is a highly organized commercial enterprise. The athletes who take part in it have come through years of training; they are commanded by professional coaches; little if any personal initiative of ordinary play is left to the player. The great matches are highly profitable enterprises . . . in some cases the college authorities take a slice of the profits for college buildings. (6)

Some of these faults of the colleges are explained as the result of trying to progress too rapidly toward the status of university, as it was understood in Europe.

> In their haste to become universities, our colleges adopted the name and then proceeded as rapidly as possible to grow up to it. This was effected by superposing a graduate school on the old college. . . . The university, as so constituted, soon began to conceive of itself not merely as an agency for training students to think hard and clearly, but as a place where, without fundamental education, young people can acquire the elementary technique of . . . in effect, all the vocations practiced in the modern industrial state.
>
> It is under this regime that college sports have been developed from games played by boys for pleasure into systematic professionalized athletic contests for the glory and, too often, for the financial profit of the college. . . . It may well be that the political service of the present-day system of schools [that is, in providing equal opportunity and ending class distinctions] is its greatest contribution. But is it necessary to sacrifice the intellectual ideal in order to be democratic? There is nothing more democratic than the ability to think. To recognize and act upon that principle is a profound test of durable democracy . . . .

> The weakness of the American university as it exists today lies in its lack of intellectual sincerity. It stands nominally for high intellectual ideals. Its effort at intellectual leadership is diluted with many other efforts in fields wholly foreign to this primary purpose. Intercollege athletics form only one of these . . . . (7)

Interestingly enough, much of the criticism was directed not at the coaches, athletes, alumni or demanding public, but at the administrators of the nation's intellectual institutions.

> It is a useless inquiry at this time to ask who were responsible for the development in the colleges of commercialized sports. The tendencies of the time, the growing luxury, the keen intercollege competition, the influence of well-meaning, but unwise, alumni, the acquiescence in newspaper publicity, the reluctance of the authorities of the university or the college to take an unpopular stand,--all these have played their part.
>
> But there can be no doubt as to where lies the responsibility to correct this situation. The defense of the intellectual integrity of the college and of the university lies with the president and faculty. With them lies also the authority. The educational governance of the university has always been in their hands. . . . The responsibility to bring athletics into a sincere relation to the intellectual life of the college rests squarely on the shoulders of the president and faculty. (8)

Were changes made in college athletics in response to the Carnegie report's not-too-surprising revelation? Did the NCAA rise up and demand that the colleges toe the line? Actually, the primary result apparently was nothing. Not surprisingly, none of the schools felt that the abuses were present in their own programs, though they had been the subjects of the study. Furthermore, while many people agreed with the information and conclusions of the report, the supporters and detractors did not split along academic-athletic lines. Some notable defenders of the academic side of college life were strongly critical of the report. It aroused much controversy, but apparently fostered little agreement.

The report studied the abuses of college athletics, including problems caused by questionable or unclear values and problems which stemmed from the massive publicity of college sports. It then cited two fundamental causes of the defects in American college athletics. The first cause, commercialism, suggested that many schools had become more interested in the monetary and material returns possible in athletics than with the educational values of sport.

> Commercialism has made possible the erection of fine academic buildings and the increase of equipment from the profits of college athletics, but these profits have been gained because colleges have permitted the youths entrusted to their care to be openly exploited. . . . It is the undergraduates who have suffered most and will continue most to suffer from commercialism and its results . . . .
>
> The argument that commercialism in college athletics is merely a reflection of the commercialism of modern life is specious. It is not the affair of the college or the university to reflect modern life. (8)

How many noticed that one court has ruled that being a varsity athlete in college has a financial value to the athlete, and that that value cannot be abridged?

The second cause cited was the schools' negligence toward the educational opportunity for which the college was supposed to exist. The committee called for a change in values and charged that colleges needed to return to a concern with their essentially intellectual function.

Toward the end of the twenties, college sports began to drop off, budgets and attendance fell, and recreational interests began to come more to the fore. Was this a result of the impact of the Carnegie Report or was it, as may be more likely, simply because the Depression had begun to make its impact in the heartland of 1920s intercollegiate athletics, the pocketbook? We do not really know.

## Lessons From Sporting History

Many issues sprang up during the 1920, but perhaps they can be seen more clearly as we consider them in the context of the fifth question: What do our lessons show us that we needed in the 1920s, and still, you may have noticed by the familiarity of the problems, need today? For one thing, we need college presidents and faculty who have the integrity to stand up for educational sport.

We need strong national organizations to strictly enforce rules of ethical conduct in educational sport, bodies which will actively seek out and strongly censure any such misconduct, no matter where it occurs.

We need a strong public stand by coaches' organizations for ethics in sport, for sport as an educational experience.

We need, above all, to clearly define the place of athletics in education, then fight to see that our schools live up to it. The Carnegie report detailed the values of athletics and accepted them. But even among physical educators there is no agreement on the values of athletics. We do not even agree that they are valuable. We physical educators are often also the coaches under discussion, so our house should be put in order first.

Finally, we should decide whether we want genuinely amateur sports, semi-professional or professional sports. We face an immediate problem with our proposals for developing international competitors by helping them financially. But have we really given much dispassionate thought to the problem?

I realize this list of lessons of the twenties sounds more like the lessons of the seventies. The reason is simple: the situation has changed very little. The same problems are still here. Little or nothing has been done about them. We have, in fact, an extension of the Golden Age of Sports, for it is really today, not in the 1920s. Today college sports is spelled M-O-N-E-Y and, for weaker spellers, T-V.

## Research Opportunities

The final area of inquiry concerns research opportunities in the period of the 1920s. Although much has been written about the period, a great deal of it is "gee whiz" history. John Rickards Betts was one of the few to look at the twenties with much care, but even then we are speaking of 20 or 30 pages for 10 years of sports at all levels. A closer look needs to be taken of the factors from which the sports model of the 1920s arose. Researchers in the field of physical education need to study the factors causing the problems and how those problems might have been avoided before they became so great. They need to examine the effects of alumni pressure on the development of collegiate sport and the relationship between the American business ethic and the growth of sport. The researchers need to look at the use of sport by college presidents to build school and personal reputations. They need to do more research on the role of the student in the expansion of sport. Finally, research is needed on the actual effect of the Carnegie report. It detailed abuses still common, perhaps more common today than in the twenties. What effect did the report have on colleges, educational policy, athletic departments and physical education programs? Were the short-term areas of decline in college sports from about 1929 to 1931 or 1932 an effect of the report's impact or were they simply an outgrowth of the Depression? Did the boom of the 1920s affect the programs in black colleges, and was there another change after the Carnegie report?

We need to study the college athletics of the 1920s historically, but with due consideration for sociology, economics and philosophy if we are to really understand this complex period. Most of the research has been as superficial as this paper, a skimming of the waters of a very deep pool, and one whose example is clearly similar to today's uneasy alliance between education and athletics. Let us hope that we can find the hints which might help us solve our problems of today and tomorrow.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas Denison Wood and Rosalind Cassidy, *New Physical Education: A Program of Naturalized Activities for Education Toward Citizenship* (New York: Macmillan, 1927).

2. Guy Lewis, "Enterprise on the Campus: Development in Intercollegiate Sport and Higher Education, 1875-1939," *Proceedings of the Big Ten Symposium on the History of Physical Education and Sport*, Bruce L. Bennett, ed. (Chicago: The Athletic Institute, 1972), 53-66.

3. John R. Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1974), 254-258.

4. Howard J. Savage, ed., *American College Athletics*, Bulletin no. 23 (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929).

5. Savage, vi.

6. Savage, viii.

7. Savage, ix-x, xiii, xviii.

8. Savage, xx-xxi.

9. Savage, 306-308.

# REACTION TO "COLLEGE ATHLETICS IN THE TWENTIES: THE GOLDEN AGE OR FOOL'S GOLD"

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If the Golden Age of Sport was in the twenties, it is an appropriate place. How many who were not alive at that time, but who have heard about the glory of that period, do not picture it as a wonderful time in our history when everything seemed fun and the ideal was living for the moment? Has any decade been labeled with so many descriptive terms--the Jazz Age, the Flaming Twenties, the Era of Excess, the Roaring Twenties, and so forth. After all, the great war was over and people were looking for relaxation and entertainment. As Wilson and Brondfield have stated, "There came new freedoms, new drives, new searchings for emotional and physical outlets; and sports seemed to provide the one big national denominator." (1)

## Causes of Boom in Collegiate Sport

Dr. Freeman's first question attempts to explain what caused this so-called "Golden Age of College Sports." The causes are so complex and interrelated to one another that an entire paper could be devoted to this one topic. It is interesting to note how Durant and Bettman handled the question in their book, Pictorial History of American Sports. Their introductory premise to what they label the "tremendous twenties" is that it was "an age of champions, or extra-ordinary events and superb performances. . . ." (2) Just reflect a moment on that statement. Along with all the scientific advances, the 1920s did have amazing moments and exciting people in and out of sport. The following randomly chosen individuals and events illustrate the colorful twenties: Black Sox scandal, Leopold-Loeb case, court martial of Billy Mitchell, Scopes trial, Gertrude Ederle, Byrd reaching the North Pole, beginning of the Oscars, Lindberg's flight, Sacco Vanzetti case, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and on and on. Personalities and sports heroes became the idols of the day. Durant and Bettmen ask why did the twenties produce such an array of talent. Their answer is a confirmation of the complexities of the issue:

> There is no single answer, if indeed there is any explanation at all. History shows us that various fields of human endeavor from time to time reach a peak, a Golden Age. Generally the phenomenon is marked by good times and by the presence of gifted writers to dramatize the the events and the personalities of the time. The pattern fits sports' Golden Age. (3)

They give due credit to some of the popular reporters of that time, such as Damon Runyon, Heywood Broun, Ring Lardner and Westbrook Pegler, who had great performers to write about and glorified sport with their colorful accounts. In this context they speculated that these writers "may explain in fact the phenomenon of the Golden Age but it is possibly safer to say that it just happened, and no one really knows why." (4) As Dr. Freeman indicates, that last sentence is not acceptable to historians as we seek to find answers to causes of events.

No one would argue with Dr. Freeman's assertion that the greatest impetus to the growth of sports in the twenties was economic. It was a time of prosperity that everyone thought would last forever. He failed to mention, however, a concomitant aspect of this prosperity which influenced the growth of sports, especially football, and which gave credence to Boyle's contention that the sporting boom of the 1920s was primarily one of spectators. (5) This factor was the automobile. In 1914 there were only 2 million automobiles in this country, yet by 1921 there were 9 million. Five years later, in 1926, the number had doubled and before the stock market crash it was estimated that two-thirds of the families in this country owned a car. Thus, with automobiles and the improvement of highways, people flocked from the cities to enjoy recreational pursuits. The stadiums that Dr. Freeman mentions were necessary as thousands went to see intercollegiate football games. Dulles remarks on the importance of the automobile to the growth of sports: "Nowhere were the changes more far reaching than in popular recreation . . . the auto was used as an adjunct to pleasure, as a means from the country to the amusements of the city and from the city to the sports and outdoor activities of the country." (6)

## Women in Sport

It is necessary to elaborate a bit on Dr. Freeman's explanation of women's sports during the twenties. As he indicates, as men's sports were expanding on the collegiate level, women's intercollegiate sports were being cut back to our legendary play days. But it is important to realize the reasons for the change. Many of the negative aspects of sport cited in Dr. Freeman's paper caused the women physical education leaders to exert their power to curtail the growth of intercollegiate competition for women. As Mabel Lee stated, "May the time never come when the ideals of athletics for women are thrown to the wind as ideals have been in men's athletics." (7) Ellen Gerber summarizes the women's intercollegiate sports story in the twenties:

> A coherent unified philosophy on women's athletics was set forth in the form of resolutions in 1923 and adopted by most relevant organizations. The resolutions were based upon the educational objectives, social mores and medical opinion of the time and further bolstered by the negative examples of sport at hand - particularly men's intercollegiate athletics, AAU and industrial league competition . . . the playday form of sport competition was invented as a means of implementing the philosophy set forth in the resolutions. (8)

If the abuses in men's athletics revolved mostly around football, it was the notoriety and bad publicity of women's basketball that caused curtailment of college competition for women.

Over the years the pendulum has been swinging back again, and we are in the midst of an explosion of sports programs for girls and women. We now have professional women's sports, specialized sports camps, women athletic directors, trainers and coaches, and most important, increasingly talented women athletes. The U.S. women's basketball team won a silver medal at the 1976 Olympic Games. More people are interested in watching girs' sports, thus media coverage of women's sports is on the increase. Also, educational institutions, cognizant of Title IX, are providing more opportunities for the female student athletes who are demanding equitable sports programs.

Dr. Freeman indicates that one lesson we might find from the twenties is that strong national organizations should strictly enforce rules of ethical conduct in educational sport. He claims that the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) fails to do this job and implies that the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) is heading in the same direction. First, it is indicative of the phenomenal growth of women's intercollegiate sports that we have our own national governing body (AIAW). Second, the AIAW differs significantly from the NCAA in many aspects, of which the following are the most important:

- AIAW is housed in an educational organization, the AAHPER, whereas the NCAA is not.
- AIAW offers minimal control of student athletes as opposed to the NCAA's many rules.
- AIAW believes in the autonomy of the institution and only imposes regulations when necessary to guarantee fair competition, protect students' health and safety and assure equal opportunity.

Perhaps because the AIAW now permits scholarships, Dr. Freeman foresees the same flagrant practices that have occurred in recruiting men athletes. But AIAW's recruiting is very limited and all policies are endorsed with the consideration of what is best for the student athletes. It is hoped that the AIAW can continue its strong leadership as the governing body of what Dr. Freeman calls "educational sport."

## Commercialization of College Sport

There is abundant evidence that the economic heyday of the twenties resulted in the commercialization of collegiate sports, especially football. The game was making big money and hence was attacked by critics as big business. But it is important not to forget some of the outgrowths of these financial gains on our college campuses. As Roper stated, "The man who pays for a football ticket in the fall always pays for a half a dozen other sports which he may not care to see but which are just as important to the all-around development of the student body as football itself." (9)

It is not emphasized enough that the tennis courts, golf courses, ice rinks, etc. that grace many campuses were a concomitant outgrowth of the big revenue-producing game. Even though some people believe it is perpetuated fiction at some institutions, it is true that the majority of the other sports that collegians participate in are financed by the monies made from football and basketball.

Dr. Freeman's point about the relationship of sports and monetary alumni contributions is certainly well taken. Many college alumni groups were initiated during the sport boom of the twenties. The importance of sports to the alumni is reinforced by the succinct remarks of Hofstadter and Hardy:

> Athletics, because they are a symbolic link between the alumnus and his youth, are also the strongest link between the alumnus and his school. In some as yet undefined way - undefined because no social psychologist has yet made a study of the alumnus - renewed contact

> with intercollegiate athletics revives his youth as no other experience could. He returns to the stadium with a sense of expectation that he could not think of getting from a visit with a former teacher or a visit to the library . . . the alumnus is important to the university: He is a major source of direct support . . . he joins the undergraduate in underwriting commercialized athletics. (10)

## Development of Intercollegiate Athletics

Dr. Freeman refers to intramurals taking a hold on college campuses at an ever increasing rate in the twenties but fails to mention an important aspect about this movement which was true then but is rarely the case today. The growth of intercollegiate sports was so dramatic that many viewed intramurals as an aid to the varsity program. Even Mitchell in his book Intramural Sports indicated that one of the objectives of intramurals was to have students learn skills so they would be proficient enough for the intercollegiate teams. (11) The Carnegie Commission report that Dr. Freeman refers to so often details the dichotomy of the intramural program at some institutions during that time: "Another negative tendency is the intimate connection of intramural athletics with intercollegiate athletics under personnel that is interested primarily or exclusively in intercollegiate contests." (12)

As Dr. Freeman mentions, not many reforms were effected as a result of the publication of the famous Carnegie report. For a historian it is a mecca of facts and figures about intercollegiate athletics. Unfortunately many such reports at the cost of much time and money are painstakingly researched and issued with grand ideas for change, yet nothing occurs. Let us hope that this will not be the case of the recent Report of the President's Commission on Olympic Sport.

Since so many charges in the Carnegie report were about football, perhaps Alan Sack has the best answer why nothing happened.

> Many people benefit from commercialized intercollegiate football. In fact, college football, like the heart in a living organism, may well have become functionally indispensable. That is, it satisfies so many vital needs that its removal or alteration could entail tremendous costs for the larger social system. This is why commercialized college football persists and serious criticisms of the game are met with such intolerance. An attack on the sport establishment threatens the interests of a wide variety of groups within and outside of universities. (13)

It seems fitting to touch on the issue of whether intercollegiate sport, especially football, is an amateur venture. The concept that a professional sport would exist in an academic setting is contrary to our idealistic beliefs about higher education. Zeigler proposes that we would do better to forget the sharp delineation between the so-called amateur and professional and call a spade a spade.

> Must we persist in the ideology that in sport and athletics it is a question of black or white--the professional being the black one, and the amateur, the white? Can't we recognize and identify the many

> shades of "gray" that inevitably exist in between?
>
> What is so wrong with a young sportsman or athlete being classified as "gray" or a semiprofessional? Do we brand the musician, the artist, or the sculptor in our society who develops his talent sufficiently to receive some remuneration for his efforts as being a "dirty pro"? Why must this idea persist in sport--a legitimate phase of our culture? The answer to these questions may well lie in the fact that we are not willing, almost subconsciously, to accept sport as a legitimate and worthwhile aspect of our culture. (14)

From the twenties on it is difficult to even suggest that intercollegiate football has been an "amateur" undertaking.

Years from now it will be interesting to see what label historians give to the sport boom in the seventies. Will it be called the "Second Golden Age of Sports" or the "New Golden Age of Sports?" We will have to wait and see. The twenties were tremendous despite the abuses in some sports. Intercollegiate football was at the center of this fascinating era. It is thus appropriate to conclude with this quote from Vanderzwaag entitled "The Football Man."

> No player, manager, director or fan who understands football, either through his intellect or his nerve ends, ever repeats that piece of nonsense "after all, it's only a game." It has not been only a game for 80 years, not since the working classes saw in it an escape route out of drudgery and claimed it as their own. What happens on the football field matters, not in the way that food matters but as poetry does to some people and alcohol to others: it engages the personality. It has conflict and beauty, and when these two qualities are present together in something offered for public appraisal they represent much of what I understand to be art. (15)

## FOOTNOTES

1. Kenneth Wilson and Jerry Brondfield, *The Big Ten* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 109.
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3. Ibid.
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5. Robert H. Boyle, *Sport - Mirror of American Life* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1963), 40.
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# WOMEN'S PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AT THE FIRST STATE UNIVERSITY--

# AN UPHILL STRUGGLE

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Chapel Hill

Ironically, women have had to insist upon their right for an education within the University of North Carolina (UNC) even though historically "no constitutional provisions, no legislative enactments, bar women from its halls." (1) Another bit of irony lingers, too, since the very existence of this modern university rests on the untiring efforts of a woman for the reopening of its doors in the post-Civil War years. Eighty-two years after the official opening of the school for males, the first coed officially enrolled in the university's summer school in 1877. Another two decades passed before a regular student of the female gender quietly, but very conspicuously, attended lectures alongside her male conterparts.

The earliest mention of an interest by the women students in physical activity occurred in 1921 when the increased female enrollment (i.e., greater than the usual six per year) was noted. "That year witnessed the formation of a woman's basketball team, four match games resulting, one with Chapel Hill High School, two with Lenoir College and one with the Charlotte 'Y.'" (2) Such athletic involvement spurred the UNC Women's Association (founded in 1917) to form an Athletic Club under the management of an athletic committee. Mrs. M. H. Stacy, adviser to women, secured the services of Patricia Parmelee, who instructed the coeds twice a week for one hour in a health-exercise course. The coed room and the ladies rest room in Peabody Hall were transformed into a veritable gymnasium where the eager coeds were guided through the Weave, the Grind and various movements of the "Daily Dozen Set to Music." According to one participant,

> Perhaps the finest thing about Miss Parmelee's course, in addition to the exercise, was her lessons in relaxation and concentration, and her talks on the healthful life, in which she pointed out to us the road to happiness and perpetual youth. (3)

This opportunity for physical activity somewhat appeased the needs felt by the junior, senior, graduate and professional women students, yet left some of them still unfulfilled. Monotonous walks, attempts to intrude onto the men's tennis courts, and applications for gym time left them disappointed and disadvantaged athletes. However, in 1923 a tennis court reserved for coeds provided the long hoped-for facility where tennis and basketball were played. (4)

Some enthusiastic, activity-minded coeds faced derision from the males as evidenced by one reporter's leading sentence in the student newspaper, the Tar Heel.

> The masculine portion of the campus was rudely taken aback Saturday when the Coeds sallied forth from Russell Inn and undertook to capture the tennis courts behind Memorial Hall, heretofore regarded as a mere man's most sacred sanctuary on the Hill. (5)

On the other hand, one male student editorialized that the coeds' lively interest in athletics, if given university support, would contribute to their college spirit and morale. (6)

While the Tarheelettes opposed Greensboro High School and Chapel Hill High School on the basketball court, (7) other developments within the university in 1930 led to the eventual establishment of a physical education program for women. In a letter that year from the Adviser to Women to the president of the university, Mrs. Stacy repeated her 12-year-old request that some provision be made for the physical welfare of women students. (8) She stressed the need for recreational sports, not compulsory gymnasium, under qualified faculty superivision. The modest program requested included tennis, horseback riding, swimming, volleyball, basketball, clogging, tennis, and baseball. To facilitate this ambitious undertaking, Mrs. Stacy asked for two tennis courts, use of the gymnasium certain evenings of the week, use of the pool one afternoon each week, and minimal financial support. In justifying this latter item, she stated the familiar retort, "the women students pay the same gymnasium fee as the boys and get nothing in return." (9) Having received no response again by the administration on this issue, the Women's Student Association voted to control athletics through an athletic council of women student representatives. (10)

## Physical Education Program Begins for UNC Coeds

Two years after Mrs. Stacy's last request, President Graham convened a meeting (of what became the Administrative Board of Physical Education for Women) to discuss the "ways and means of meeting the needs of women students in a program of physical education with the equipment in hand and without entailing too large a budget." (11) This board, under Mrs. Stacy's leadership, established physical education requirements for freshmen and sophomore women and formulated a budget request of $701.73 which President Graham granted, in fairness, he said, to this most important work for women students. (12,13)

Gladys Angel Beard embarked upon her directorship of required physical education in the 1932-1933 school year by overseeing the physical examinations of 24 women students. The 16 judged healthy participated in basketball, folk dancing, games, baseball, tennis, and archery. Problem areas in this pioneering effort ranged from absences to diversity of skill levels in class to the need for a well-conditioned field for outdoor sports. (14)

On the athletic front, the freshmen coed basketball team defeated the local high school team, the two sororities staged a charity benefit game, and "the first coed basketball game with an out-of-town (college) team in the history of the university" ended in defeat for the local coeds. (15) All of these games were under Mrs. Beard's guidance.

In the annual report for the following year, Mrs. Beard highlighted the students' desire for an intramural basketball tournament. With the availability of the gymnasium for evening practices and games, with certain male varsity players as coaches, and with insignia awards as goals, the venture met with overwhelming success. The tennis matches held with Duke University and Peace College in April 1934 were also enthusiastically accepted. (16)

Over twice as many students (39) enrolled in the required program that year after the annual physical examination, causing Mrs. Beard to recommend that her position be made full-time (she had been employed with the university's Extension Division, too). Additional justifications for this full-time physical educator were "because additional section, i.e., smaller groups, should be created in order to avoid laboratory conflicts, to develop separate programs of directed exercises for the poorly and normally developed girls, and so that a more personal kind of coaching in the various competitive sports may be possible." (17)

Similar to the national philosophy concerning women's participation in sports, the Women's Athletic Association (WAA), established in 1934, hosted its first play day in November of that year.

> A play-day has as its prime purpose enjoyment and fun for as many girls as possible. For this reason, some simple games were planned and girls from Duke, Meredith, Peace, St. Mary's, and the Women's College at Greensboro entered into competition, not according to schools but according to colors. There was planned, as well, interschool competition in archery and tennis; also an exhibition game in hockey between Duke and Meredith. (18)

Another first for that school year was the Awards Banquet which

> marked the first time in the history of the University that the co-eds received any recognition for athletic activities. Letters (monograms) were given to the girls (15) who went out for at least two sports, attended 75% of the practices, and who were outstanding in sportsmanship and ability. Numerals were received by those freshmen who were outstanding in their gym work and were thoroughly interested in athletics. (19)

These awards were called "N.C. letters" in 1936 and a Monogram Club was organized in 1938. (20,21)

The required freshman and sophomore physical education program, although rebelled against initially but enjoyed by most coeds the following year, was short-lived. In the summer of 1935 the trustees debarred freshmen and sophomore girls from attending the university. The program for the upper class and professional women students who remained in 1935-1936 involved self-directed play activities with success measured in the 40 percent involvement in biweekly activity. (22)

With fewer students in activity classes, Mrs. Beard suggested expanding the area of professional preparation to better place women graduates. In her 1935 annual report, she wrote that a "plan might well be set up in the Department of Education whereby girls with majors in the field of education with the idea of teaching in high schools could get instruction not only in sports, lead-up games, folk dances, stunts etc. but health instruction pertaining to the various phases of school life." (23)

No action on this suggestion was forthcoming. Interestingly, in a joint letter three years later from the director of athletics and the director of physical education to the dean of the College of Liberal Arts, a totally opposite viewpoint was expounded.

> Since our Department is set up primarily for men, we feel that a small number of women students (who had been making application for permission to major in Health and Physical Education) in the various teacher-training classes would so curtail and change the type courses offered that our Department would be materially weakened. If we expect to train women in physical education and health education, it would be necessary to build a special staff whose primary function would be the training of women students. While our facilities are so arranged that we are able to take care of the recreational needs of women, the requirements for providing them professional training introduce many serious problems. (24)

The letter concluded by recommending that women not be able to major in physical education and health at Chapel Hill, but that they receive such training at the Women's College (part of the UNC system).

When the Department of Physical Education and Athletics was established in January 1937, no mention was made of women's physical education. At this same time, a special committee appointed by the chancellor to study the physical education program made no reference to the women.

Neither the absence of female freshmen and sophomores (except for local students or those enrolled in the Pharmacy School) nor the lack of a physical education major forestalled eager participation by the coeds in activities ranging from archery to volleyball in the latter 30s and early 40s. Intramurals, play days and intercollegiate contests offered challenges to all skill levels. (25, 26,27) These years for the athletic coeds were also significant ones of acceptance according to the Carolina Handbook.

> As to equipment, the girls are fortunate for no discrimination is made between boys and girls in using Woollen Gym /new in 1938/, tennis courts and the swimming pool. In fact, mixed sports are encouraged among the girls and the boys wherever possible. The girls are also fortunate in having new equipment and are able to get additional when there is a need or demand for it. (28)

## The War Years

Two major developments within physical education increased active involvement of the UNC coeds in 1942. First, because of the war, "compulsory physical education for (all) coeds received the stamp of approval of the General Faculty, bringing the entire Carolina student body under the toughening program." (29) Second, the women's gymnasium was completed in December. Since the navy had taken over the areas in Woollen Gym previously allocated to the women, the university and the navy shared the cost of the new facility. The women's gymnasium included:

> one classroom, offices, dance room on the first floor, lockers and showers and gymnasium on the second floor. A recreation room was started in the basement. A stove, refrigerator, table, dishes, and recreation equipment were bought and the space served partly as a means of entertaining visiting teams and partly as a mean of getting together for supper parties and meetings. (30)

In addition, the women had to struggle to secure outdoor facilities and frequently they had to share the football stadium with the men.

In regard to out-of-class activities for the coeds, according to the physical education director, "the emphasis in this University is on intramural, rather than intercollegiate competition. When competition occurs with other colleges, it generally takes the form of 'Play Days'" such as interschool hockey, basketball, fencing, golf, swimming, and dance competitions. (31,32)

The last war year, 1945, was highlighted by eight special events sponsored by and for the women which indicated their continued interest in physical activities beyond the classroom.

1. The varsity basketball team played the Camp Butner WACS.
2. A dance program was presented for children at the Chapel Hill High School.
3. Several square dance parties were sponsored for the Free French and other military units.
4. Several physical education "at home" classes were sponsored.
5. A baseball play day was held with three other colleges.
6. Tennis matches were played against William and Mary and against Women's College at Greensboro.
7. The Dance Club toured military camps with the Girls Glee Club.
8. A Dance Club recital was performed. (33)

That same year a Physical Education Majors Club was formed to promote the interest and participation of all coeds in sports. (34) While a formal application was forwarded to Delta Psi Kappa for a charter in June 1945, no record exists of one being granted. (35) In 1953 the club began to include men. The club's activities included group meetings to discuss matters of professional interest, various social events, and distribution of the "Gymlet," a mimeographed newsletter reporting on campus sport and physical education activities. These activities, however, failed to maintain sufficient interest so the club eventually disbanded. Although reformed in later years, the Majors Club was never really active and later it again ceased to exist.

In the fall of 1945, clubs were initiated to group together female students whose interest was serious enough to spend extra time to learn the necessary skills of the activity they chose. Although the venture started out partly on a credit basis, the following year the ruling was changed, putting each club on a purely voluntary basis. Since the senior requirement had been removed following the war, the senior coeds enrolled without credit while the junior, sophomore and freshman coeds spent at least two extra hours beyond the regular two-hour weekly requirement. (36)

Under Mrs. Beard's 15-year directorship, physical education for women at UNC gained acceptance despite several limitations it had to surmount. The freshman requirement remained a relatively small segment of the program because of limited enrollment. The intramural program thrived under the supervision of the Women's Athlete Association (WAA), as did the extramural play days and the occasional interschool contests. For six years the women "borrowed time" in Bynum Gymnasium for their classes and games, then they shared Woollen Gym before being given their own gymnasium. This facility, built to replace the "lost" use of Woollen to the navy, signaled a male-female segregation (silently enacted, though never legislated) that lasted 25 years. The previously sacred women's field, too, was given over to military training and was not regained in postwar years. Administratively a board headed by the Adviser to Women initially had directed policy within physical education. When the Department of Physical Education and Athletics was formed in 1937, the women were absorbed into this structure with a woman serving as director for female students under the supervision of the department's male chairman. No Women's Physical Education Department ever existed in actuality.

Under the directorship of Ruth White Fink, for the next 26 years women's physical education existed as an almost unknown entity. Housed in its own gymnasium and administratively unpowerful under the Department of Physical Education and Athletics, the women's program thrived nonetheless. Joining the director in providing the primary continuity and leadership for the women's program were Frances Burns Hogan, adviser to the WAA for 19 years, and Mary Frances Kellam Branch. Fink was primarily responsible for various graduate and undergraduate classroom courses while Branch and Hogan taught the majors methodology courses and numerous activity classes. Additionally, Hogan, with Branch's assistance, planned intramural programs, officiated games and directed club activities for the women.

## Extramural and Intramural Activities

The professional attitudes of the female faculty adhered closely to those of the current women's national organizations.

> All the activities of the Department are carried on in conformity with the standards of the National Section on Women's Athletics of the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation. Since those standards discourage extramural competition on a widespread scale, our athletic competition with other colleges consists of:
>
> 1. Occasional matches with sport clubs from nearby colleges
> 2. Telegraphic meets in swimming and archery
> 3. Sports Days (37)

In these events social values were stressed, as after every sporting event the visiting teams were invited for cokes and cookies. (38) The WAA's goal was "to develop qualities of leadership, to promote interest in women's athletics, and to provide opportunities for participation in the varied campus sports." (39) The WAA was affiliated with the Athletic Federation of College Women and hosted the 1941, 1954 and 1963 North Carolina Conferences of this organization.

Varied sports opportunities in classes were provided for junior, sophomore and freshman coeds. Requirements included passing the swimming test and taking an individual sport (archery, badminton, tennis or golf) or passing a skills tests in one of these. Program offerings were in archery, field hockey, modern dance, golf, swimming, tennis, tap dance, badminton, basketball, conditioning, stunts and tumbling, folk and square dance, and softball. (40)

Despite these abundant program offerings, the director of program stated some immediate needs and concerns in her 1954-55 Report to the Chancellor.

> one decided handicap is the scarcity of facilities, both indoors and outdoors. . . . The number of women students on the UNC campus is increasing from year to year, but outdoor facilities for women's physical education and recreation have decreased considerably over the past 7 or 8 years. The women have no athletic fields, and must use Kenan /football/ and Emerson /baseball/ fields when they are not needed by men's intercollegiate teams. Even though interest in tennis is high among women students, the few University courts must be shared by men's and women's classes. Indoor dressing and showering facilities are not adequate for the number of women students. The women's locker room is so inadequate that it is necessary for two or three girls to share each locker if all participants in the instructional program alone are to have locker use. No locker facilities can be provided at present for students using the gymnasium only for voluntary participation in sports. One small classroom (diverted to that use by dividing an office) must serve all major and required classes in the women's department. Any rainy day, or other occasion for indoor discussions or lectures, finds classes meeting on stairs, in lobby, or other inadquate space. Office space is so inadequate that staff members have difficulty scheduling conferences with students or carrying on routine work or study. The present staff is inadequate for meeting the needs for the instructional and intramural programs. A real need exists for a director of intramural sports for women if the recreational and social advantages of a broad intramural program are to be extened to all women students. (41)

One outcome of these recommendations was that the junior requirement was dropped so that physical education was required only for freshman and sophomore coeds. Few first and second-year coeds enrolled until the mid-1960s when the university ended its restrictive admission policies.

In extramural play, the Tennis Club, one of several WAA clubs, hosted its first annual Tennis Day in the spring of 1958 with four colleges accepting the invitation to play in the singles and doubles action. This event continued to highlight the spring calendars of numerous North Carolina institutions until 1972 when a state tournament was substituted for it. (42) In June 1959, North Carolina hosted the 15th Annual Women's Collegiate Golf Tournament. This event, open to any collegiate undergraduate woman student and including two UNC players, was conducted under the standards and policies established by a committee representing the three major women's physical education associations. (43) The event stimulated outstanding interest both within the university and in the surrounding area, according to the director of women's sports. (44)

Another first occurred in 1959-1960, when coed instruction in folk and square dance, tennis and volleyball was introduced. "Members of the staff of the Women's Department have taught these classes, in which the proportions of men and women students are approximately equal. In addition, one class in Social Dance has been taught by a staff member (female) in which there were only men students." (45) In the early 1950s a male and a female staff member jointly taught an evening water safety instructor's course which in later years became accredited. (46)

Men's and women's intramural activities, with only a few exceptions, existed as two separate entities on the UNC campus. A jointly-sponsored Sports Carnival, initiated in 1942 and lasting for over 30 years, was a one-night sundry of sports and games. (47) Corecreational volleyball, badminton, golf and swimming were added in the following years, but it was not until 1974 that a unified intramural department conducted programs for all students. (48)

Throughout the 1960s the WAA through its extramurals offered opportunities "for the highly skilled women students to participate in competitive events with women students from other North Carolina colleges and universities." Competitions, usually of the one-day variety, were held in basketball, fencing, golf, tennis, volleyball, gymnastics, and lacrosse. (49) Also, in 1967-1968 the first annual Co-Rec Sports Day was hosted by UNC for three other institutions within the consolidated university system. Vying for points in the sports of golf, table tennis, tennis, volleyball, badminton, bowling, archery, and fencing, the Carolina team (combination of women and men) won. (50) Interestingly, not until the spring of 1975 was women's competition included in the Big Four Sports Day. Men from Wake Forest, Duke, North Carolina State, and UNC had vied for sports championships in this one-day event 28 years before the women were invited to join in the fun. The inaugural competition for the women featured five sports. (51)

No major changes occurred in the program offerings or in the philosophy towards sports when UNC became a charter member of the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women in 1971, except for a substitution of the descriptive sports term "intercollegiate" for "extramural." Six initial varsity teams, in contrast to club members, represented UNC in 1970-1971 whereas by 1977-1978 12 women's athletic teams received the university's support. (52) UNC's first coed All-American was the 1970 national tennis champion, Laura DuPont.

## Women's Physical Education Staff at UNC

For years, UNC's women physical educators were not recognized for their contributions. Workloads were heavy but the fact is that if the women physical educators had not carried out the organizational duties for the intramural and club activities, in addition to their teaching, the students would have been denied such sport opportunities. Salaries were meager when compared with the men's. In fact, supplements were added to the men's income for extra responsibilities such as intramurals or coaching, or at least some release teaching time was granted. The first coaching supplement for the women was paid in the 1974-1975 school year. The director of WAA initially got a half-time teaching load in 1966-1967. These differences between the programs did not, however, cause a rift between the men and women. While the women had neither a say in departmental matters nor a separate budget, a good working relationship existed. (53) In fact, both the men and the women served as leaders within the state for the promotion of standards for physical education. (54)

The women did not restrict their professional activities to the university-level even though their contributions and achievements were not given proper recognition. (55) Throughout the years they were affiliated with and served as leaders in the National Association for Physical Education for College Women, the National Section on Women's Athletics (and its subsequent organizations), and the Athletic and Recreation Federation for College Women. Naturally UNC's philosophy toward sports participation grew out of the national philosophy of the times, "a sport for every girl and every girl in a sport," which favored participation and opposed intense intercollegiate competition. (56) Beyond class instruction, intramurals provided play opportunities equal in quality and quantity to current offerings. (57)

For highly skilled females, clubs were formed to allow two or more institutions to compete in a particular sport, with emphasis on playing for fun and for social camaraderie rather than for the sake of winning. At UNC, governing rules, such as not playing more than five events in a sport per year nor playing an institution beyond 50 miles from campus, insured a deemphasis on varsity teams. (58) Funding for intramural and club activities was provided initially by the WAA but in later years the chairman of the department (male) furnished small allocations, or trip expenses for the clubs were paid out of the pockets of the advisers. (59)

The 1970s brought several changes to the women's program. Prior to her retirement, Fink was promoted to full professor, a first. The initial female holder of a Ph.D., Raye Holt, was hired by the department in 1972 and carried on the director's duties for women in 1973-1974. To date, no other female has been named a full professor. Currently the department has 27 staff members; 11 of the 17 men have doctorates, as do 3 of the 10 faculty women.

## Emergence of Title IX

In compliance perhaps with Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments Act, UNC's Physical Education Department began in 1974 to instigate several changes that significantly affected the women. The men's and women's programs were combined administratively, thereby eliminating the positions held by Beard, Fink and Holt. No female was selected to administer any of the joint programs until 1977. With equal opportunity in mind, facilities began to be jointly shared for classes, intramurals and intercollegiate athletics. Locker and dressing rooms continued to be severely restricted for the greatly increased female enrollment until 1976-1977 when some of the men's locker rooms were converted for use by female students.

The women's intercollegiate program, although on paper begun in 1971, did not really broaden in scope until 1974, possibly due to Title IX guidelines. In 1974 the governance of the eight varsity teams was transferred from the Department of Physical Education to the (men's) Athletic Association. Since that time, the budget has grown from $25,000 to over $175,000. Along with this increased financial subsidization came the first female scholarship recipient in 1974 (currently females are awarded over $60,000 in grants-in-aid) and the first full-time women's coach in basketball in 1977.

Throughout the years, UNC's physical education program for women has adhered to the prevalent professional philosophies favoring physical activity. Even when the number of coeds was limited, women leaders recognized their needs and desires for physical activity and provided programs. Intramurals, play days, extramurals and intercollegiates were timely outgrowths of the required classes and were eagerly engaged in by the women. Despite restrictive facilities, administrative obscurity and limitations on female enrollment, the women's program thrived as it fulfilled the physical aspirations of its students. Therefore, in conformity to the belief in controlled growth of female sports programs, UNC's programs for its women students have paralleled others nationally.

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# MEANING OF CONTEMPORARY INTERCOLLEGIATE AND INTERSCHOLASTIC SPORT

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In this paper the author will try to capture what he feels are the essentials of the meaning of contemporary intercollegiate and interscholastic sport for four different groups and then attempt to place institutional sports competition in historical perspective, particularly as it might bode for the future of such competition.

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines the term meaning as "that which is meant; intent; object; sense; significance; import; acceptation." To investigate the word meaning relative to contemporary institutional sport, let us adopt as a springboard the term acceptation, a word describing "a generally received impression."

It seems to this writer that there are four population groups within the broad society of institutional competitive sports: (a) participants, or athletes, (b) consumers, or viewers, (c) managers, or coaches/athletic administrators (sometimes college presidents/high school principals also), and (d) educators (including physical educators). The "meaning" or "received impression" of competitive sport to each of these groups varies and indeed is sparked by different motivations.

## Participants (Students/Athletes)

What does institutional competitive sport mean to the literally hundreds of thousands of athletes engaged in such competition? Historically, competitive sport originated among students as a pleasurable release and diversion from the tedium of intellectual application. Quite naturally, too, the opportunity to test one's physical skills against another's was, and continues to be, an inherent constant among athletes. It is unlikely that participants in the early history of institutional sport were prodded by outwardly declared messages of health and fitness. Further, they did not spend nearly as much time as do athletes today in preparation (training) and execution (competition). And why should they? The stakes, and therefore the "meaning," for doing so have changed altogether.

Contemporary competitive sport has, to this writer's mind, two real meanings for competitors. The ancestry of these meanings, noted in late 19th century sport history, is marked by social and economic tangibles.

First the social aspects. For a young athlete to compete in sport representing his/her institution, particularly if the athlete's efforts have met with success, is to gather a certain prestige leading to vertical social mobility within one's peer group. Indeed, in the twentieth century such upward mobility has often elevated an individual's status completely beyond his/her institutional peer group into the broader realm of society--the community, state or even national context. Discussed in conversation, read about, viewed intently, the student/athlete rises in social hierarchy to hero status--folk and real. In Canada and the United States, birthright does not guarantee social stature, but achievement does. And sport achievement, because sport is such an important social component in our lifestyle, is an explicit variable in peer and extra-peer adulation and acceptance.

Regarding the economic tangibles, a formula recited in the minds of many interscholastic athletes is: "effort + successful performance = dollars + who knows what the limits might be!" The "dollars" usually represent athletic scholarships and the opportunity to perform in a higher level forum such as the college stadium, arena or gymnasium. The "who knows what the limits might be" is but a step further along the path--the professional aspect of North American "big business" sports--football, basketball, baseball, hockey.

The interscholastic sport forum is the basic proving ground for acceptance to college sport--a proving ground where athletic talents are developed, refined and marketed to the college scene--there to be further sophisticated and transmitted to the professional realm of sport.

There are other more tacit meanings to contemporary sport for student/athletes that are realized early on in the form of "special consideration"--special courses, special professors, special entrance considerations, indeed, "special handling" from that shown to other students.

This writer simply cannot accept that the larger meaning of contemporary competitive institutional sport is related to the development of values as perceived by physical educators and by some coaches--sportsmanship, health and fitness, loyalty, fellowship. In contemporary times these things have fallen by the wayside, indeed if they ever existed in the minds of young athletes. Social acceptance and attention, notoriety and economic prospect are far more significant meanings to contemporary athletes.

## Consumers (Viewers)

The consumers, or viewers of interscholastic and intercollegiate sport first looked upon the sporting activities of students in a manner sparked by curiosity. Playing games and sports in primitive, loosely organized fashion did little more than arouse the curiosity of many nineteenth century onlookers. That is, until the college sports' organizational era shaped up over the last quarter of the century. The same forces that fanned the flames of professional sporting interest served American institutional sport--transportation and communication devices in the form of railroads, trolley cars, newspapers, magazines, telegraph and wireless reports and entrepreneurs.

The rise of an American middle class, gearing the tools of America's commitment to industry and living generally in urban surroundings, needed a medium which might in part serve as a leisure time filler and as a release from the negative aspects of living in closely compacted masses. To be entertained during time away from work became a penchant for Americans, and sport helped to satisfy this penchant. Thus, what started out as amused and curious observation developed into engrossed attention and finally into lively entertainment.

Competitive sport reflected another meaning to the consumer--a spirit of mini-nationalism and pride of identification. Being a student of an institution, an alumnus or a citizen of the surrounding area whose institutional athletic team stood poised on the brink of crucial confrontation with the opponent was enough to send one in frantic haste to root for and lend support with wild enthusiasm, almost as if one's role in that regard was the key to success.

Thus, the real meaning of contemporary institutional sport to the consumer is as entertainment, as a satisfying agent for identification of pride, and as "mini-nationalism."

### Managers (Coaches/Administrators)

A third group for whom competitive sport has important meaning are the managers (coaches, athletic directors, and even college presidents and high school principals). Of these, the coach is easily the most visible.

In the early days of interscholastic competitive sport, the students coached themselves. Alarmed at some of the results of this unrestrained and unsupervised conduct, institutions sought to impose a semblance of control by prodding faculty members to volunteer their services as coaches. The intensity of competition, however, rapidly dictated that the services of professional coaches be solicited.

To coaches, sport has four meanings: (a) a means of livelihood, (b) satisfaction of a competitive urge no longer able to be fulfilled on the playing field, (c) a means of gaining attention and notoriety within a certain segment of society, and (d) satisfaction from seeing younger people develop in certain ways as a result of one's influence.

Given the human nature of the coach, indeed the administrator, the last three factors envelop the psychic aspect as important dimensions in the meaning of contemporary competition. In regard to livelihood we have often heard words from coaches (and educators): "I get paid for something I'd do for nothing." Take away one paycheck and behold how that cliche might be modified. The fact is, like the contemporary college athlete, coaches can't afford to do the job for nothing. Nor would they. Coaches are as fully competitive as athletes themselves. After all, in all likelihood they were once participants--probably successful ones. The urge to achieve, to be recognized for their achievement is as fully manifested in coaches as in athletes, perhaps even more. Self-gratification is a constant in the coaching process.

The athletic director and the college president/high school principal are similar to company executives. Success of their school teams on the court and playing fields conveys a positive feeling to the board of directors (regents, school board, and well-healed, influential alumni). This positive feeling becomes meaningful to the athletic director and the president/principal when transferred in terms of job security and increased income. Such tangible benefits are far more important than the psychic benefits in contemporary athletics.

### Educators (Including Physical Educators)

One would think that competitive sport in educational institutions would have special meaning to the people who form the "guts" of these institutions--the teachers, or if you will, educators--especially physical educators. With the emergence in the late nineteenth century of the "New Physical Education"--a system focusing on individual expression through sports and games--competitive sport suddenly became a crucial factor in the social moulding process of young men and women and an important agent in developing positive citizenship. The value claims for sport in educational institutions have been almost endless and indeed formed the core of "rhyme and reason" for competitive sport to exist. In contemporary times, however, educators, the former espousers of the school competitive sport ethic, have become disillusioned and are accepting disenfranchisement from sport. In the face of accelerated competition, heightened nationalism, deeply embedded commercialism, skyrocketing costs, a sacrificing of educational principles (principals, too), and external pressures from innumerable fronts, the educator has "chucked it in" and allowed competition to go its own way.

Thus, the meaning of sport, once replete with positive educational qualities, now conveys something quite different. With thinking shaped by the media and by the entire context of big-time college and professional sport, how long will it be before high school trends in competitive sport emulate the college models that lure them like a Pied Piper's flute?

## Historical Perspective

Finally, what about the meaning of contemporary competitive institutional sport for history itself? The path along which the history of institutional sport has trod seems to be one which has closely paralleled a biological life cycle--precise, systematic, predictable. Like human beings, civilizations and their institutions have been shown to follow a similar cyclic pattern, except that death is not necessarily the final result. Instead, a lingering, stagnant-like state seems to be the end result. If this pattern is applied to competitive institutional sport, what can we perceive?

The birth date of institutional competitive sport is generally traced to a rowing race between Harvard and Yale boat clubs in 1852 on the waters of Lake Winnipesaukee off Center Harbor, New Hampshire. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, intercollegiate competitive sport proceeded to grow and mature in almost adolescent fashion. Here in the twentieth centruy, with interscholastic sport but a few paces behind, college sport is well into its sophistication stage, as seen all around us in the form of specialization leading to quasi-professionalization. Whereas in its infancy competitive sport served the athlete as a diversion from study and intellectual work, student athletes now study as a release from the work of preparing for and participating in competitive sport. We have indeed come full circle.

But we have not progressed through a life cycle in terms of institutional sport. We have not even entered the declining epoch as yet, but we'll get there, prodded by such human traits in us as envy, pride, inquisitiveness, insecurity and pugnacity. Thucydides has said: "The kinds of events that once took place will by reason of human nature take place again." Thus, what we really learn from history is that we learn nothing at all from it. The underlying character of the sports performer, the consumer and the manager is such that the lessons which history should teach and which should be heeded, will be ignored and clouded over by an insatiable desire to triumph and to be recognized for such achievement. Not in our time, nor in that of our children or even their children will the cycle of competitive institutional sport be completed. But the cycle turns steadfastly and leisurely, in no hurry to arrive at the twilight of the competitive sport experience.